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The Canadian Historical Review

NEW SERIES
OF
THE REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS
RELATING TO CANADA
(FOUNDED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO IN 1896)

VOL. XIII TORONTO, DECEMBER, 1932 No. 4

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Published Quarterly

BY

THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

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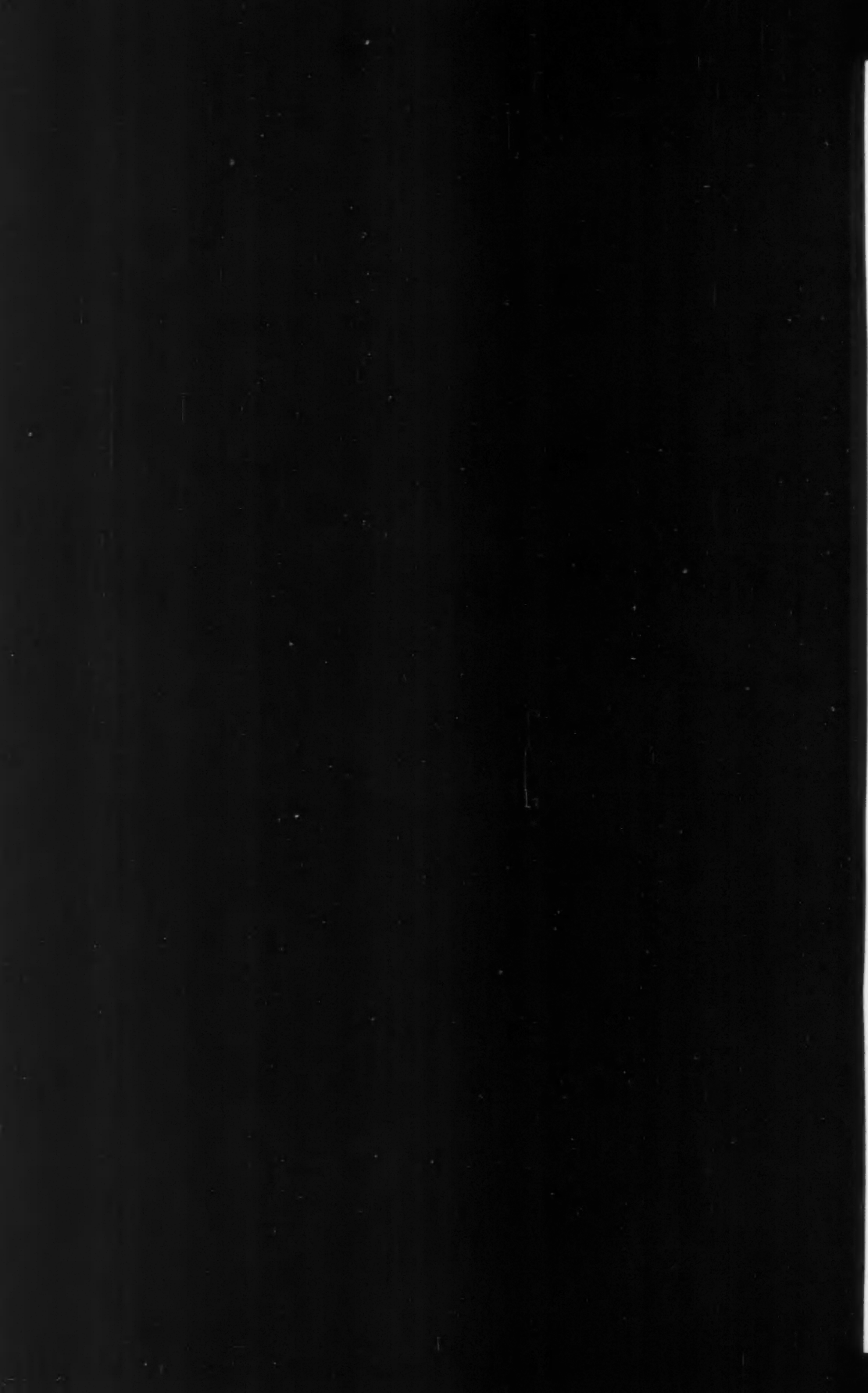
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Subscriptions should be sent to the University of Toronto Press



The Canadian Historical Review

VOL. XIII

TORONTO, DECEMBER, 1932

No. 4

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE forty-seventh annual meeting of the American Historical Association—the first ever held outside the United States—will be held this year, December 27-29, at the University of Toronto. The committee on programme, under the chairmanship of Professor Chester Martin of Toronto, has arranged fifteen sections of the Association and six or seven joint sections with other societies including—for the first time—the Canadian Historical Association. The general distinction of the programme may be inferred from a score of names selected at random: Charles A. Beard (The original American conception of the national interest), Gabriel of Yale ("The national interest" and recent American thought), Bemis (Canada and the peace settlement of 1782), Merk of Harvard on the Oregon treaty, Boak, Ferguson, Rostovtzeff and Westermann (Economic history of the ancient world), Hicks and McGrane (Economic crises and panaceas), Hyma and Lane on the renaissance, Dean Ford, Evarts B. Greene, Conyers Read, and J. P. Baxter on graduate study, Phillips and Paxson (Turner and the frontier), MacNair on the Far East, Dixon Ryan Fox, Solon J. Buck, and many others. Among Canadian contributors are Sir Robert Falconer, Hon. Vincent Massey, Hon. N. W. Rowell (The British Commonwealth, an interpretation), Dr. Doughty, Lawrence J. Burpee, Gustave Lanctot, Professors Wrong, McArthur, Landon, Burt, Innis, and others. No such array of historical lore has ever been brought together before in Canada.

The American Historical Association, including in its membership practically the whole personnel engaged in the writing and advanced teaching of history in the United States, is much more than a learned society or a professional group. In many respects it has revolutionized the recorded history of the United States during the last thirty-five years and it may be expected to influence profoundly the future trends of international relations. For the cause of history in Canada and particularly for Canadian history the meeting in Toronto may prove to be a milestone.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT AND THE IRRESPONSIBLE GOVERNOR

WHEN Earl Grey decided that the time had come to apply Durham's principles of colonial autonomy to the provinces of British North America, he seemed to be dooming his governors there to political eclipse. Under the old order the powers of the governor had been wide and his rôle conspicuous. Whether autonomy were regarded as a glorious victory of provincial Reformers or a gracious gift from the Colonial Office it seemed to involve a direct loss of gubernatorial power. The governor's former position as leader of the dominant party was now assumed by a provincial prime minister and the governor became a figure aloof. To that extent victory had rested on the banners of the insurgents. It would be a mistake, however, to regard the governor as going down to defeat with the sceptre snatched from his hands. He was far from becoming the *roi fainéant* that the parallel with British constitutional usage might suggest. It is not enough to consider the powers which he lost with the fall of the old system; equal attention should be directed to the powers which he acquired under the new.

There have been serious difficulties in the way of making any adequate evaluation of the powers and functions of the governor under responsible government as at first established in British North America. His new status was never set down with statutory exactness. Indeed, the system was purposely left flexible to permit of its adaptation to various and varying local conditions.¹ There are, of course, innumerable documents bearing the governor's signature in this transitional period, 1846-1867, but little to indicate whether they were set down on the governor's own initiative or on advice of his Executive Council. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it has been customary to assume that in signing all public documents, except those specifically relating to matters essentially imperial, the governor was acting on advice.

It is fortunately not so necessary as formerly for the historian

¹Government House, Nova Scotia, *miscellaneous documents*: Cardwell to MacDonnell (Nova Scotia), confidential, Oct. 15, 1864.

of this period to make bricks without straw, piecing out the gaps between formal documents by a vivid imagination or being content to tell the formal story. Private correspondence and other intimate documents are becoming increasingly available, some of them almost literally unearthed from the past.¹ Attention has of late been turning to these materials and to the re-interpretation of the public documents in their light. It is becoming obvious that the inconspicuous character of the governor's functions in the first decades of the new era provides no gauge to the significance of his contribution. It is increasingly evident that the governor was, in the drama, as truly the protagonist of the new imperialism as his predecessor had been of the old. This paper will be an attempt to examine the nature of his contribution. It will concern itself with such problems as the authorship of gubernatorial despatches and the meaning of the term governor-in-council in the light of the practice of the constitution in the various provinces. It may perhaps raise more problems than it is able to solve. It will at least attempt to be suggestive of the ways in which the governor in this transitional period tried to make his influence felt, and to what extent he was successful.

Under the new system the governor had two distinct functions, one local the other imperial. As official head of the local government he had to play the part of constitutional monarch, as far as local circumstances made possible, in all except distinctly imperial matters. He had to use his own judgment in deciding when matters were essentially local. In such he had to act as judge between contending parties, giving to any ministry that held the confidence of the Assembly his best counsel and support. Right here, however, governors sometimes slipped, usually to their own eventual undoing. Deprecating the bitterness and personal character of party strife, they at times sought to ignore the ascendancy of one party and to give their confidence and support to all alike.² Not infrequently they acted with a high hand toward the Executive Council, especially when parties were nearly evenly matched in the Assembly and public support lay in the balance. Although only Bannerman, peppery octogenarian governor of Newfoundland, ventured actually to dismiss

¹Notably the *Howick papers*, Howick Hall, recently used with such effect by W. P. Morrell in his *Colonial policy in the age of Peel and Russell* (Oxford, 1930); and the *Macdonald papers*, *Howe papers*, *Tupper papers*, and the *Elgin-Grey correspondence*, in the Public Archives of Canada.

²E.g., Public Record Office, CO 217, vol. 235: MacDonnell to Cardwell, confidential, Sept. 15, 1864.

a ministry while it still held the confidence of the Assembly,¹ others were not above contriving the same result by means less direct.² In such ventures the governor acted with the widest legal powers. Indeed, the unwillingness or inability of the home government to specify what subjects were to be considered local and what imperial left the governor no less circumscribed in law in dealing with even local matters than his predecessor of the old régime had been. Dundas raised a cloud of dust in Prince Edward Island by having a salute fired for a departing friend who was an eminent supporter of his government's opposition.³ He was taken to task by the Colonial Office, not for acting without advice, but for having a salute fired for a person not specified in "Rules and regulations".⁴ Dundas based his justification for ignoring advice in this matter on the fact that he was then acting in his capacity as commander-in-chief, not as lieutenant-governor. The Office upheld his contention that as commander-in-chief he was in no way answerable to his executive but only to the home government.⁵

The right of a governor to appeal directly to an Assembly through his speech from the throne in opening or closing a legislative session was not often taken advantage of. Bannerman boasted in a private letter to Merivale regarding his opening speech in 1858 in Newfoundland: "All my sayings on that day shall be my own."⁶ Elgin, fastidious in constitutional usage though he was, did substantial service to Canadian development by his unadvised speech in closing the session of 1854 and by his subsequent ability to convert his ministry to his policies.⁷ Gordon used the speech in 1866 to embarrass his executive and to aid in its downfall.⁸ In general, however, it was an extreme and dangerous measure, likely to bring the governor into the local political arena in opposition to the ministry which commanded the support of the Assembly. It was usual for the governor to secure harmony with his executive on the exact terms of the speech

¹P.R.O., CO 104, vol. 165: Bannerman to Newcastle, separate, March 5, 1861.

²Sutton with Tilley in 1856, Head with Brown-Dorion in 1858, Gordon with Tilley in 1865, and with Smith in 1866. See e.g., G. E. Wilson, "New Brunswick's entrance into Confederation" (CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, March, 1928, 4-24).

³Public Archives of Canada, CO 188, vol. 189: Dundas to Newcastle, private and confidential, December 7, 1861.

⁴Ibid.: Newcastle to Dundas, confidential, Jan. 4, 1862.

⁵Ibid.

⁶P.R.O., CO 104, vol. 152: Bannerman to Merivale, private, Jan. 22, 1858.

⁷Morrell, *Colonial policy*, 514.

⁸Although his council agreed to the address under duress, its downfall from that time was all but inevitable. See Public Archives of Canada, CO 180, vol. 9: Gordon to Cardwell, confidential, Feb. 12, Feb. 21, and March 5, 1866.

before it was given. That the Colonial Office thought of the governor as having more initiative in the matter is evident from its consternation at the speech with which Head opened the Canadian legislature in September, 1858.¹ "It is absolutely necessary to administer a reproof to Sir E. Head for his paragraph on 'Confederation'. It has caused the gravest displeasure and I have even been urged to recall him on acct of it." This was, of course, in reference to a subject with distinct imperial implications. Addressing the Assembly on his own initiative the governor found to be less advantageous than other ways of influencing the course of legislation. Even in Prince Edward Island, where responsible government had been a late and rather delicate flower, Daly was forced by his Executive Council on at least one occasion to rewrite a speech from the throne.²

The governor had the right of appointment and suspension or dismissal of political officers even including executive councillors.³ He had the prerogative right over dissolution of the Assembly.⁴ He could reserve or disallow provincial legislation.⁵ In none of these matters was he bound to accept advice. The new order had been brought in merely by an intimation of the Colonial Office that, except in vital imperial matters, the governor need not look to the home government for support in any local dispute.⁶ This made it essential to have a ministry that could hold the confidence of the Assembly in whose hands was now placed the entire provincial revenue. But a governor might dismiss a ministry if he thought the Assembly would give its support to another;⁷ or he might by dissolution make his appeal directly to public opinion.⁸ Lord Elgin had early seen, however, that it was not by the stretching of legal powers to the limit that the governor would prove most useful in the province or wield the greatest influence, but by cheerfully accepting the position of constitutional monarch as far as local circumstances would

¹P.R.O., CO 42, vol. 614: Minute of Lytton appended to Head to Lytton, no. 108, Aug. 16, 1858.

²P.R.O., CO 226, vol. 100: Dundas to Blackwood, private, May 8, 1864.

³"Rules and regulations for her majesty's colonial service", item 58 (1856 ed.) in *Colonial Office list* (annual). Cf. also copy in P.R.O., CO 194, vol. 166: Newcastle to governors of British North America (except Newfoundland), Jan. 18, 1862; and *ibid.*: Newcastle to Bannerman, confidential, July 31, 1861.

⁴*Elgin-Grey correspondence*: Grey to Elgin, private, Feb. 22, 1848.

⁵By virtue of the terms of his commission; in Canada also by imperial 3 & 4 Vict., c. 35, sec. 37.

⁶W. P. M. Kennedy, *Documents of the Canadian constitution* (Toronto, 1918), 573-577: Grey to Harvey, March 31, 1847.

⁷See e.g., *Macdonald papers*, Confederation, VI, 85-86: Tilley to Galt, n.d.

⁸P.R.O., CO 188, vol. 131: Sutton to Blackwood, private, Oct. 30, 1858.

permit.¹ He should give to his ministers his utmost confidence, support, and guidance. There were times, however, when provincial governors forgot this admonition and strayed back into the paths of their predecessors of the old régime. They regarded the local situation as sufficient justification for their deviations.

Judicial appointments were one cause of difficulty. LeMarchant in 1856 wished to go against his prime minister's advice and appoint as chief justice an eminent member of the opposition.² The Colonial Office admitted his legal right to do so, but set down the principle, "that if he conscientiously regards the man selected as unfit by reason of positive defects not mere relative inferiority, he is then bound especially in an office of such importance to the whole community to prefer the public interest to every other consideration and not appoint him".³ It is obvious, however, that the governor must in such case use his own judgment in deciding. Bannerman, without advice, curtly dismissed a magistrate by the simple process of cancelling his commission,⁴ and the Colonial Office condoned his action.⁵ In recommending for imperial honours the governor was given the right to use his own discretion. The secretary of state, while admitting the inconvenience of ignoring advice in such matters, deprecated making such awards merely on the basis of party service.⁶

This gubernatorial disregard of party not infrequently resulted in an effort to form coalition governments. These attempts grew out of the belief that party in the province was based not on principles but on personal animosities.⁷ These would be mitigated if party divisions could be broken down and coalition governments formed in their stead. Unfortunately in almost every instance this appeared, at least to the party in power, as an unwarranted attempt to wrest from them the spoils of victory. When this attempt coincided, as it sometimes did, with personal animosity between the governor and the prime minister of the day, the result was unfortunate.⁸ Monck's great coalition of

¹T. Walrond (ed.), *Letters and journals of James, eighth Earl of Elgin* (London, 1872), 127.

²P.R.O., CO 217, vol. 218: LeMarchant to Labouchère, confidential, May 5, 1856.

³*Ibid.*: Merivale's minute to LeMarchant's despatch, in which Labouchère concurred and on which a confidential despatch was returned on June 9, 1856.

⁴P.R.O., CO 194, vol. 161: Bannerman to Newcastle, no. 46, Aug. 29, 1860.

⁵Newcastle's minute of Dec. 4, 1860, appended to above.

⁶P.R.O., CO 217, vol. 216: LeMarchant to Molesworth, no. 124, Dec. 5, 1855.

⁷*Ibid.*, vol. 226: Mulgrave to Newcastle, separate, March 16, 1860.

⁸*E.g.*, the relations between Sutton and Tilley, Head and Brown, Mulgrave and Tupper.

1864, on the other hand, was based on a desire not so much to be rid of party struggle as to accomplish a specific and all-important object.¹ It was, in addition, aided and abetted by a governor whose whole term of office in the province had been above suspicion. If any party had reason to be suspicious of manipulation in that coalition it was the Reformers and not the Conservatives. This was very different from Mulgrave's attempt to make Tupper allow Howe into his government.

Personal prejudices and even hatreds were unfortunately not always absent from the relations between governor and prime minister. It is needless here to labour a discussion of the cause. The relationship was one that required moderation on both sides and it was sometimes not present on either. The feud between Mulgrave and Tupper in Nova Scotia² and that between Bannerman and Kent in Newfoundland³ were unique only in their virulence. Such difficulties seriously limited the judicial usefulness of the governor in guiding political life to higher levels. Although there were striking differences between the parties in Great Britain and the corresponding groups in the provinces, the association of a government of one party with a governor who had long been a supporter at home of the opposite type of party certainly aggravated any latent personal antagonisms and made intimate and constant contacts between prime minister and governor more difficult. It is fortunately not necessary to weigh nicely the evil and the good that the governor was able to do in these early days of responsible government. Any true estimate must take account not only of failures to achieve the best, but of what might have come upon the political life of the provinces in these first days of greater freedom had there not been at hand an imperial officer trained in a larger school and, for the most part, keeping his head above the noise and smoke of party strife. In any case, whether for good or ill, the part of the governor in these formative days was notable not only in imperial concerns but in leading the immature provinces into the constitutional paths of the new freedom.

¹See R. G. Trotter, "Lord Monck and the great coalition of 1864" (CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, June, 1922, 181-186).

²Cf. P.R.O., CO 217, vol. 230: Mulgrave to Newcastle, separate, March 26, 1862; copies in *Miscel. docs.*, Gov. House, N.S., of Tupper to Newcastle, Oct. 29, 1860; and same to same, Dec. 26, 1861.

³*Newfoundlander*, Feb. 22, 1864; and P.R.O., CO 194, vol. 168: Bannerman to Newcastle, private, May 8, 1862.

II

Although the governor occupied so important a place in local politics, he remained essentially an imperial officer appointed by, and ultimately responsible to, the Colonial Office. As such he was charged with distinctly imperial interests in the province. As liaison officer between the home government and the province, he had need for all his powers of penetration and conciliation. Not only had his right to independent action been limited, in fact if not in law, by the coming of responsible government, but the home government itself had, by adopting free trade, thrown away one of the most important cards with which it might have helped the governor to win more points. The growth of anti-imperialism in Great Britain further limited his support from home. On him, therefore, fell more heavily the burden of preserving imperial integrity. He must at all costs prevent any open clash between rival imperial and provincial interests. He must explain, and as far as possible justify, the views of mother land and province to each other. Elgin, Head, and Monck all did substantial service in this regard; Elgin, for instance, on reciprocity,¹ Head on Canadian protection,² and Monck on British North American union.³ Acting as shock absorber between colonial autonomy and imperial control, the function of governor might not be spectacular; it was none the less essential. No longer able to issue orders, the governor must now be able to convince. His functions became primarily diplomatic. In the hands of the right sort of person, the office might yield greater power under the new system than it had under the old. Elgin claimed that he wielded more power in Canada than he had in Jamaica.⁴

To meet the altered conditions, however, a new type of governor was needed. Grey saw this, as did most of his successors at the Colonial Office. The old type had left much to be desired. In the year of the Canadian rebellion, George Cornwall Lewis (later Sir George) wrote to Edmund Head (later Sir Edmund) to congratulate him on refusing a colonial appointment.⁵ Although Lewis was himself at the time in the colonial service, he set it down as composed of "the scum of England". Toward the end of the old régime, there had already been some improvement.

¹See *Elgin-Grey correspondence*, *passim*.

²P.R.O., CO 42, vol. 614: Head to Stanley (secretary of state), confidential, June 11, 1858.

³Trotter, "Lord Monck and the great coalition".

⁴T. Walrond, *Letters and journals of Elgin*, 125.

⁵Sir G. F. Lewis (ed.), *Letters of the Right Hon. Sir George Cornwall Lewis, Bart. to various friends* (London, 1870), 90.

The earlier monopoly of the Horse Guards was passing.¹ The new type of governor was more likely to be university-trained with subsequent parliamentary or administrative experience in the mother country. Sir Edmund Head, first governor of New Brunswick under the new régime, had for some years been an Oxford don. He once examined Elgin, his contemporary in Canada, for a fellowship at Merton.² Bannerman, who was sent out to inaugurate the system in Prince Edward Island, had had many years in the House of Commons supporting the Whigs. Sir John Harvey, on the other hand, doughty veteran of the War of 1812, was selected as the best of the old type of governor to initiate Nova Scotia into the new way and he was less successful. Unable any longer to issue orders, he now allowed himself to be dominated by Howe. Grey even suspected that he allowed Howe to write his despatches for him.³ He was never admitted into the charmed circle of Grey, Elgin, and Head.⁴ Grey not only deprecated his weakness but distrusted his discretion.⁵ There were others later who failed to measure up to the exacting standards. MacDonnell was not long in Nova Scotia in 1864 before he was set down at the Colonial Office as lacking in "moderation and self-possession".⁶

Since the new autonomy was to be based on constitutional practice rather than on legal enactment, those in the provinces who were bent on securing and maintaining this autonomy—and these soon came to include Conservatives as well as Reformers—were all the more vitally concerned with the constitutional conduct of the governor under the new system. Everything would depend on that. They were willing enough that the new status should be a growth rather than a creation by fiat, but it made them centre their attention on the governor in a way which made his position a very difficult one.

The early fifties were a severe testing time for the new constitutional venture. Governors picked their way with meticulous carefulness, while annexation still hung like a threatening cloud

¹In Newfoundland it was a monopoly of the admiralty until the coming of Harvey in 1841.

²*Elgin-Grey correspondence*: Elgin to Grey, private, Sept. 27, 1850.]

³P.R.O., CO 188, vol. 133: Blackwood (senior clerk, North American department, Colonial Office), minute of June 14, 1860, appended to Sutton to Newcastle, private and confidential, May 28, 1860.

⁴*Elgin-Grey correspondence*: Grey to Elgin, private, Nov. 24, 1848.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶P.R.O., CO 217, vol. 235: Elliot (assistant under-secretary, Colonial Office), minute of Nov. 7, 1864, listing MacDonnell's indiscretions, appended to MacDonnell to Cardwell, no. 24, Oct. 3, 1864.

over the new empire in the west. In the later fifties the provinces had become more conscious of the value of imperial connection, while the Colonial Office was somewhat more skeptical about the value of provincial connection. Governors then became somewhat bolder in the use of their rights, to the detriment of their provincial influence. But in spite of occasional descents into the regions of party politics, they, for the most part, were able to retain a position of aloofness which at once limited and strengthened their power. This detachment gave them not only the leisure but the facility for viewing the affairs of the province more deeply and in their broader imperial relationships. To such larger problems of statesmanship they not only felt it their right, but their duty, to give attention. Upon such matters of imperial concern, the Colonial Office expected to receive from them independence of judgment, and also of action. The fifties were replete with such problems. Some of them were the direct result of the recent change of provincial status; others were more closely related to the new economic life that was linked to the era of railway-building as both cause and effect. Still other urgent problems were growing out of the external relations of each of the provinces. There were the problems of foreign trade resulting from the revolution simultaneously taking place in Britain's commercial policy. There were problems of defence connected with the threatened withdrawal of British troops from the provinces,¹ and the growing menace of American imperialism. Finally, there was one problem into which all these were to merge; a problem at first vague, speculative, inchoate, but coming into focus as the fifties wore on, and becoming at last the objective and ultimate fulfilment of the aims of all the others—the union of the provinces. The separate attempts at unity in railway-building, at commercial union, at a union for defence, all these, as well as other forms of uniformity of life and unity of action among the provinces, were to be drawn into the vortex of political union. Here, therefore, was a problem of vital interest both to the provinces concerned and to the empire as a whole. Here was an imperial problem on the developments of which the Colonial Office would demand from its governors fullest information, and, when they felt the time to be ripe, action. Crises in the east might distract the attention of the home government from the British American provinces during the fifties,² but in the sixties Britain's eyes were

¹See R. L. Schuyler, "The recall of the legions: A phase of the decentralization of the British Empire" (*American historical review*, Oct., 1920, 18-36).

²Lewis, *Letters*, 263: Lewis to Head, April 26, 1853.

again anxiously turned westward. The provinces might then be valued as an imperial asset or their possession deprecated as a liability; they could not be ignored.

Moving between the somewhat restricted limits of imperial indifference on the one hand and provincial suspicion on the other, the governor was, nevertheless, able to exert considerable influence on both sides. The coming of trans-Atlantic steam navigation in the forties, and the increase in the speed, frequency, and regularity of the ocean services in the fifties enabled him to keep in closer touch with the home government than had his predecessors. But there were other influences in still closer touch with the Colonial Office which sometimes tended to neutralize gubernatorial representations. First, both in order of importance and proximity, must be set down the officials within the Office itself. The difficulty confronting a governor wishing to influence colonial policy by converting a colonial secretary was that this political functionary was constantly being changed (there were eleven colonial secretaries in less than ten years, 1852-1860). A governor faced precisely the opposite difficulty in trying to influence the permanent staff of the Colonial Office. Some of these officials were permanent almost to the extent of being perpetual,¹ and each of them had a little, but very definite, colonial policy of his own. Then, too, there was the almost unavoidable tendency of officials who daily had to turn from dealing with colonial possessions on the lowest level of cultural development and political maturity to provinces in North America or colonies in Australia, carrying over, even if quite unconsciously, attitudes of mind derived from contact with the one into their treatment of the other.² Added to this danger was the reliance placed upon the standard manual, *Rules and regulations for her majesty's colonial service*.³ It was, indeed, well, alike for the influence of the provincial governor and the welfare of the province under the new status, that the officials of the Colonial Office had come to make a virtue of opportunism. Their attempt to be all things to all men might lead them into logical inconsistencies,

¹Vane Jadis, assistant clerk in the North American department, served for forty years; Arthur Blackwood, senior clerk in the same department, for forty-three years.

²E.g., when Rogers and Elliot in 1860 divided the colonial world between them, no "colour" division was made. Elliot took Africa as well as British North America, and also all military matters; Rogers took the Australian colonies, the East and West Indies, and all legal matters. G. E. Marindin (ed.), *Letters of Frederic, Lord Blachford, under secretary of state for the colonies, 1860-1871* (London, 1896), 226.

³The 1843 edition was revised in 1856 to meet new conditions. Printed annually in the *Colonial Office list* after the latter's inception in 1862.

but it saved them from falling into a ridiculous uniformity, and put them in the mood to give full weight to the representations of the man on the spot, especially to their governors whose observations and recommendations were more likely to be impartial than were those of provincial politicians or interested British capitalists.

Other influences were playing on the Colonial Office from the outside. There were the colonial secretary's own colleagues in the Cabinet, each with his own departmental axe to grind. There was the prime minister, ever with his eye on popular support throughout the country and in the Commons, willing to take the long view, but often forced to take the near. There was the foreign secretary, anxious that the empire should appear to the world as conciliatory but strong, ready on occasion to play chess with the colonies as pawns, insistent on the colonies having no relation with other powers except through his office. There was the chancellor of the exchequer insisting that the financial load of colonial administration be lightened, and the president of the Board of Trade insisting that the extension of political freedom to the provinces be not used by them to deny the principle of economic freedom, and particularly horrified at the prospect of a group of colonies joining in a commercial union, with a high protective tariff fortress for themselves. There was the secretary for war, insisting that self-defence was a logical and moral corollary of self-government. It was not strange that, at times, the distant cry of a provincial governor was almost completely drowned out by these nearer, louder, and more insistent voices.

But these were not all. The governor was not alone in seeking to represent the interests of his province. His representations were frequently supplemented and amplified by provincial delegations on the one side and the appeals of interested British capitalists on the other. The trouble with the provincial deputations was not so much their infrequency; indeed, they became so frequent that there was much criticism of this new sort of government—government by deputation. Their weakness lay rather in their lack of co-ordination and the inconsistency of their pleas, chiefly for financial assistance in the building of railways. They were too liable to cry prosperity to British financial interests and poverty to the Colonial Office, forgetting the close connection between the recipients of their supplications. In seeking financial assistance from the British exchequer through appeals to the Colonial Office, British capitalists and provincial deputations

frequently played into each other's hands. Both were interested in the welfare of the province or provinces concerned, in which alike their money was sunk, or about to be sunk. The Colonial Office had reason to suspect that both were willing enough to make profit at the expense of the British taxpayer. The provincial governor, on the other hand, was more likely to have the broader and more disinterested point of view. Sometimes even he had become so carried away by roseate prospects of provincial development that his advice was hardly more to be trusted than that of promoters on either side of the Atlantic. But, if anyone might be expected to see any given project in its larger imperial relations and yet with a detailed knowledge of local conditions, surely that one was the provincial governor. No province was more interested in the building of the Intercolonial Railway than New Brunswick. Yet Sutton confidentially warned the Colonial Office against thinking it would yield any financial returns for the enormous costs involved in its construction.¹ The Office was sincerely grateful for this impartial judgment and an attempt was made to have the other governors write privately to someone at the Colonial Office giving their personal judgments on the same point.²

III

Quite different was the difficulty of the governor as he sought to guide his provincial government in imperial ways. Here he was met not by indifference, but by a latent suspicion. The necessity for building up a tradition of autonomy gave to any gubernatorial interference a sinister appearance out of all relation to the magnitude of the provincial interests involved. The governor might appeal over the heads of his ministers to the local legislature. He might even dismiss his Executive Council, as Bannerman actually did in 1861 and as Head virtually did in 1858 and Gordon in 1866. It was possible to appeal from a legislature directly to the people by means of an unadvised dissolution. In either course, however, he might not expect to receive support from the home government, and the reaction of public opinion was uncertain. It was, however, a sign of the political immaturity of public opinion that no governor was forced to resign because he failed to follow more nearly in the path of British constitu-

¹P.R.O., CO 188, vol. 131: Sutton to Lytton, private and confidential, Sept. 29, 1858.

²*Ibid.*: See Lytton's minute appended to above.

tional usage. Ministries might be extremely sensitive; the public seemed quite apathetic. It regularly supported the governor when he treated a ministry with a high hand. These instances were fortunately the exception. For the most part, the governor was ready to follow the policy of limiting his direct influence to his Executive Council and more particularly to the prime minister. The precise *métier* of this influence varied considerably from province to province and even from governor to governor. The Colonial Office was not anxious to foist a deadening uniformity upon an essentially organic process. It did suggest that the less mature provinces might copy constitutional practices from the more mature so far as circumstances might permit. To this end it granted rather lavishly leaves of absence to governors to visit neighbouring provinces. In 1862 it went so far as to issue a circular despatch permitting governors to take such leave for limited periods without the formality of asking permission of the Office.¹ It was understood that Nova Scotia was to follow, as far as possible, Canadian constitutional practice.² More latitude was allowed to New Brunswick, and still more to Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island. It was recognized that, although neighbouring provinces might be operating under the same *scripta lex*, they might, in fact, follow quite different constitutional procedure.³

In attempting any estimate of the nature and extent of the influence of the governor on his ministry, the problem of his attendance at meetings of council is fundamental. In 1859 the Colonial Office, wishing for information about diversities in the practice of the constitution in the various provinces in this matter, sent a circular questionnaire to its governors asking whether the attendance of the governor at meetings of the Executive Council was regarded as necessary to give validity to acts of council and also whether, or to what extent, the governor actually found it expedient to attend such meetings.⁴ There was unanimity in the answers received to the first question. On the second there was the greatest range of difference. In no case was the presence of

¹P.R.O., CO 217, vol. 230: Newcastle's minute to Mulgrave to Newcastle, no. 21, March 20, 1862; and Nova Scotia Archives, *Public records*, vol. 106; Newcastle to Mulgrave, circular, April 30, 1862.

²*Ibid.*, vol. 124: Mulgrave to Newcastle, separate, May 1, 1859. Also *ibid.*, vol. 109: Cardwell to MacDonnell, separate, April 8, 1865.

³Gov. House, N.S., *miscel. docs.*: Cardwell to MacDonnell, confidential, Oct. 15, 1864.

⁴Labouchère to governors of British North America, circular, confidential, Jan. 30, 1858.

the governor required. From Prince Edward Island's governor came the intimation that he regularly attended council meetings and felt justified in doing so.¹ In a private and confidential communication he ventured to express the opinion that the Island was so far behind the other provinces "in regard to the intelligence, education and administrative capacity of the class from which the highest officers of the Govt. are necessarily filled",² that its exceptional position in this regard required "the constant presence of the Lt. Governor in Council, affording as it does the opportunity of superintending its action, which is but too frequently influenced by petty jealousies and party feuds". At the other extreme came word from Head in Canada.³ In his confidential reply he noted that:

Our ordinary practice in this Colony is as follows—The minutes are regularly discussed in the absence of the Governor, and when drawn by the clerk to the Council are countersigned by the President of the Committee. They are then laid before the Governor, who, if he approves writes the word 'approved' with his initials and the date on the margin of the printed heading prefixed to each set or bundle of minutes. This is constantly done in Council; often however it is done by the Governor either in his own room at the Council office or at home. If he entertains any objection to a minute or recommendation of the Council, he either discusses it in Council before approving of it, or he takes it off the file and returns it for reconsideration by the Committee through the President or one of the members. When responsible Government is established, it is in my opinion most inexpedient as a general rule that the Governor should be present during the discussion in Council of particular measures. He is at liberty at all time to go into Council and discuss any measures which he, or the Council, thinks require it, but his presence, as a regular and indispensable rule, would check all freedom of debate and embarrass himself as well as his advisers.

Even Nova Scotian practice in this matter followed far behind the lead of Canada. There, as late as 1864, MacDonnell appealed to the Colonial Office for support in his attitude toward his council.⁴ The confidential reply was in part as follows:⁵

It therefore seems to me to follow that reliance must be placed on the ability of the Governor, and the wisdom and patriotism of his advisers, rather than upon the formal establishment of technical

¹P.R.O., CO 226, vol. 89: Daly to Stanley, private and confidential, April 9, 1858.

²*Ibid.*

³Public Archives of Canada, G, vol. 221A: Head to Stanley, confidential, March 4, 1858.

⁴P.R.O., CO 217, vol. 235: MacDonnell to Cardwell, no. 16, Sept. 3, 1864.

⁵Gov. House, N.S., *miscel. docs.*: Cardwell to MacDonnell, confidential, Oct. 15, 1864.

rules. I think you will do well in maintaining the position you have taken up as being virtually, as well as theoretically, the President of the Council, in regarding your Councillors as bound to you individually and not collectively only, and in regarding as generally privileged and confidential what passes between yourself and them.

We find the governor of Nova Scotia adjourning council meetings on account of a previous engagement, and, in general, acting as if it were his council. Monck also called his executive together at will. Here in these unrecorded discussions at such meetings must have taken form many of the policies that altered the course of provincial history. In most of the provinces the governor still sat at the head of the table and helped in this immediate way to shape the destinies of his province. The Colonial Office expressed its approval not only of the right of governors to attend council meetings, but of the expediency of attendance.¹

In addition to the relation of the governor to his council, there was the still more intimate, and often more vital, relation between the governor and the prime minister. Here at last stood face to face the representative of imperial integrity and of provincial autonomy. Here lay the very heart of the problem of the new imperialism. Much depended in such meetings on the powers which each felt he had behind him. But there was much more than suspicious bargaining. There was often friendship, occasionally enmity, and always the play of the stronger personality on the weaker. If only more light could be focused on these private conferences; if only they had left some record! Unless either suspected the integrity of the other, no formal record was kept of decisions made at these meetings. From them the prime minister was free to present the case of the governor to his council as if it were his own. Fortunately with the appearance of more of the private correspondence of both governors and provincial leaders, students are no longer left in utter darkness even here.²

IV

It is in the field of the governor's correspondence with the home government and with other provinces that more hope of

¹See P.R.O., CO 217, vol. 235: Fortescieu (parliamentary under-secretary), minute of Oct. 4, 1864, to MacDonnell to Cardwell, Sept. 15, 1864; *ibid.*, Rogers (permanent under-secretary), minute of Oct. 30, 1864, to MacDonnell to Cardwell, no. 16, Sept. 3, 1864: "The presence of the Govr at the Ex. C. is a very good thing—as giving him continual occasion for bringing into operation the influence which his character may command."

²The Macdonald papers are particularly enlightening.

revelation is justified. Next to the intimacy of contact between governor and prime minister was the close relationship between the governor and the Colonial Office. Two problems here demand examination: the ability of the governor to keep in touch with the home government, and the right of the Executive Council in regard to gubernatorial correspondence. Arising indirectly but inevitably out of the latter will be the fundamental question of the incidence of responsibility under the new imperial régime.

Despatches both "home" and "out" may be divided into two classes: numbered public despatches and unnumbered despatches variously labelled "private", "confidential", "separate", or "secret". In addition to despatches there were private letters. *Rules and regulations* permitted the governor at his discretion to present copies of numbered despatches to his council or to the legislature.¹ Other despatches from the Colonial Office could only be divulged with the previous consent of the Office itself. Of the very existence of such unnumbered despatches, both council and legislature were often blissfully unaware. Any despatch relating to foreign affairs could only be made public with the previous consent of the Foreign Office. Although it was very difficult to resist the demands of council or legislature for copies of numbered despatches, even these documents were subject to manipulation. After subsequent events had given a despatch by a governor an unfortunate colouring, he might obtain permission from the Office to substitute another in its place and to have the old one destroyed.² The new one would be numbered identically and dated identically with the old to be discarded. Not only that, but a governor might even have the Colonial Office replace in a like way a new despatch for an old, long after the first had been received.³ The writer has been able to locate one such substitute and also the original for which it was substituted. Only by several strange mishaps had this manipulation left its trail behind.⁴ Despatches were not only altered after they had been sent; they were frequently practically

¹ Revised edition, 1856 (chap. 6, *Colonial Office list*, 1864).

² N.S. Archives, *Public records*, vol. 108: Vane Jadis (clerk in North American department, Colonial Office) to MacDormell, Jan. 7, 1865—a private letter pasted into the bound volume.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ The original despatch of the secretary of state was found in Government House, Halifax. It was Cardwell to MacDonnell, no. 26, Dec. 8, 1864. Why MacDonnell neglected to take advantage of the permission to destroy it must remain a mystery. Perhaps his unusual departure for Hong Kong may explain. The new despatch of like number and date is in its regular place in the *Public records*, vol. 108.

dictated by the recipient before they were sent.¹ Anxious to have some document to present to parliament, the Colonial Office was often forced not only to ask for such material but to suggest its character. Such public despatches were often written with an eye more on the public than on the person to whom they were supposed to be directed. Molesworth may have exaggerated in stating to the Commons that they were intended to mislead.² Certainly it is necessary to look well below the surface before the real purport of public despatches can be accurately ascertained.

Fortunately for the smooth working of the new imperial system much use was made of other sorts of correspondence. It was a regular device to send two despatches covering the same subject and dated identically,—one numbered, the other usually marked private and confidential. One would say what the public might well be informed of; the other gave the intimate facts of the case. If any public despatch covered dangerous ground, it might later be withdrawn and its innocuous part sent as a numbered despatch, the rest as private.³ Separate despatches were not essentially different from private. Secret despatches were more intimate and likely to deal with foreign relations. There was also the private letter. Farthest removed from the public gaze, these were of the utmost importance. Unfortunately they were regarded as private property and only on rare occasions were left on file to find their way into the present collections of public records. Grey and Elgin wrote regularly and intimately while the latter was in Canada. Who can say how much of the history of the period was made by these close contacts? That this was no isolated occurrence is amply proven by the following extract from a letter from Lytton to Head:⁴

Communication between the Secretary of State and the Governor of Canada has been of late years carried on almost exclusively through private correspondence, and, therefore, they are unavail-

¹Cf. *Elgin-Grey correspondence*: Grey to Elgin, private, Nov. 23, 1849: "I think you shd. write to me an official Despatch on the annexation movement on wh. I may found a pretty strong Despatch condemning those who have joined in it. . . . In writing to me I think you ought to take a pretty confident tone & above all avoid any language wh. can be taken to imply that failing to get 'reciprocity' with the U. States wd. afford the slightest reason for the Canadians to wish for annexation."

²*Hansard*, 3rd series, vol. 100, 851.

³Cf. P.R.O., CO 194, vol. 161: Fortescieu's minute to Bannerman to Newcastle, confidential, Feb. 8, 1860.

⁴Lytton to Head, Sept. 24, 1858, printed in full in a confidential pamphlet, *Question of federation of the British provinces in America* (1858), a copy of which is in the library of the Public Archives of Canada. Cf. also *Elgin-Grey correspondence*: Elgin to Grey, private, March 27, 1848: "Should you have left office the Colonial Minister will have little idea of what is going on in Canada unless you let him see my private letters to you."

able for Parliamentary defence, if the conduct or motives of the Governor should be impugned. I am quite aware of the opinion entertained by my predecessors respecting the great delicacy of the political relations between England and Canada, which led to this mode of transacting business. But it is only by public despatches that the Governor of Canada can be judged, or supported in the House of Commons.

I have, for instance, no official justification to give of the step which you took of initiating, by your messages, the question of Federal union between the provinces—a question of Imperial and not simply of Canadian character.

In spite of the inconveniences as noted here, the Colonial Office continued to seek just such intimate correspondence with its governors.¹ Such correspondence was not always conducted between the governor and the colonial secretary himself; frequently it was with one of the permanent officials at the Office.² Bannerman gave the Colonial Office no little trouble by mixing confidential and public matters in the same despatch. The colonial secretary asked: "Would it be possible for any one in the office who knows him to get a private letter from him, as we get from Canada, in which if he has any grist for the mill, he may safely convey it?"³ Not the least valuable part of the voluminous minutes appended to despatches from the governors by officials of the Colonial Office, is the light they throw on the existence and nature of much of this private correspondence which otherwise would have left no trace. Unfortunately for consistency in the evolution of colonial policy, an incoming colonial secretary was likely to be in utter ignorance not only of the nature of the private correspondence of his predecessor with a governor, but of its very existence. It is interesting to speculate what might have been the course of the movement for union in British North America had Lytton in 1858 known of Stanley's private instructions to Head to further the movement.⁴ When the correspondence was regular its existence was usually known by the permanent officials at the Office. But some of these private letters were merely occasional, and when the secretary left the Office he took these letters with him.⁵

¹P.R.O., CO 188, vol. 143: Elliot's minute to Gordon to Cardwell, confidential, Jan. 16, 1865; P.R.O., CO 188, vol. 131: Lytton's minute to Sutton to Lytton, private and confidential, Sept. 29, 1858.

²E.g., Merivale with Sutton, and Blackwood with Dundas.

³P.R.O., CO 194, vol. 153: Lytton's minute to Bannerman to Lytton, confidential, Aug. 30, 1858.

⁴P.R.O., CO 42, vol. 615: Carnarvon's minute to Head to Lytton, confidential, Oct. 22, 1858.

⁵Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 614: Lytton's minute to Head to Lytton, no. 97, July 31, 1858.

Whether the Executive Council had the right to inspect despatches received by the governor or to supervise those which he sent constituted a frequent ground for dispute. Governors with unanimity resisted the claims of their executive in both these regards, and the Colonial Office gave them an ample support. All admitted that, unless there were special reasons to the contrary, the Executive Council should receive all possible information and be consulted wherever possible.¹ But its right to regard gubernatorial despatches as unprivileged was stoutly and continuously resisted. The same applied to the governor's right to show to his executive any communications which he might receive from private individuals.² The governor's correspondence, public as well as private, was always to be regarded as his own to be used at his own discretion except in so far as the Colonial Office itself might set limits thereto. One of the earliest and clearest statements in this matter came from the scholarly Head while governing New Brunswick.³ "The despatches signed by the Lt. Governor are, as they profess to be, those of the Lt. Governor alone, and in his own custody." The reply of the Colonial Office expressed [its] approval.⁴ Some years later the matter was again raised in New Brunswick,⁵ and received equally clear commendation from home.⁶ Blackwood thought the despatches should be "the exponents of the mind of an impartial and independent person".⁷ Elliot regarded the New Brunswick government's claim as "unendurable",⁸ and Fortescieu wrote: "I think it is impossible to maintain too absolutely—(not with a view to New Brunswick alone) the independent and free communication between Governor and Sec. of State."⁹ Blackwood also recalled that "when Sir John Harvey was Lt. Gov. of N. Scotia his despatches were said to have been usually written by Mr. Howe, the Col. Sec^y with the concurrence of the existing Council, and were

¹E.g., Public Archives of Canada, *CO 188*, vol. 185: Lytton to Sutton, confidential, Oct. 7, 1858.

²P.R.O., *CO 226*, vol. 93: Dundas to Newcastle, no. 65, Nov. 12, 1860. Also Head's memorandum appended thereto, on which the reply of the Colonial Office of Feb. 13, 1861, was based.

³Gov. House, N.S., *miscel. docs.*: copy of Head to Grey, separate, Feb. 28, 1852.

⁴*Ibid.*: Pakington to Head, separate, April 2, 1852.

⁵P.R.O., *CO 188*, vol. 133: Sutton to Newcastle, private and confidential, May 28, 1860.

⁶Public Archives of Canada, *CO 188*, vol. 187: Newcastle to Sutton, no. 20, July 6, 1860.

⁷P.R.O., *CO 188*, vol. 133: Minute to Sutton to Newcastle, private and confidential, May 28, 1860.

⁸*Ibid.*: Minute.

⁹*Ibid.*

proportionately distrusted here".¹ The matter was also raised in Prince Edward Island.² The Colonial Office was careful to mark out not only the path of right but also of expediency. Confidentially it advised the governor as follows:³

1. Public Despatches may, as a general rule, be communicated to the Executive Council and (if the Executive Council think proper) to the Assembly.
2. Confidential Despatches are not to be communicated unless by the Secretary of State's permission, and that permission may be given, according to the circumstances, either for communication to the Executive Council only, or to the Assembly as well.
3. But the Governor has in the last resort a discretion, even as to communicating public despatches. This reservation is necessary, because circumstances, unknown to the Secretary of State, may render in the Governor's judgment such communication undesirable.

In communication with Head at an earlier period, the colonial secretary had been explicit in denying the right of the Executive Council to demand to see either the despatches "out" or the despatches "home".⁴

The communication to them [the Executive Council] of the Lieutenant Governor's or the Secretary of State's own Despatches . . . cannot be claimed as matter of right by the Executive Council, and must be determined on, in each case, according to the Lieutenant Governor's own view of what is expedient, although publicity is always rather to be sought than avoided as a general rule.

Answering a like appeal from New Brunswick the Colonial Office wrote:⁵

You did no more than right in decidedly resisting this claim. Your despatches to the Secretary of State are to be considered as the Reports made by you in your capacity of The Queen's Representative to H.M.'s. Government in this Country. To agree to a demand that they must be previously submitted to your Provincial Ministers would be wholly to alter the character and meaning of the Despatches. They would cease to be that which they profess to be vizt., your personal communications to the Queen's Government; and the position of a Governor called upon to transmit, as his own, reports over which he did not preserve the undivided control, would be such as few would be willing to accept.

When the Executive Council in Nova Scotia made determined efforts to cease paying the salary of the governor's private secre-

¹*Ibid.*

²P.R.O., CO 226, vol. 93: Dundas to Newcastle, no. 14, 1860.

³*Ibid.*: Newcastle to Dundas, confidential, April 2, 1860.

⁴Public Archives of Canada, CO 188, vol. 185: Lytton to Sutton, confidential, Oct. 7, 1858.

⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 187: Newcastle to Sutton, no. 20, July 6, 1860.

tary, the suspicion was at once aroused at the Colonial Office that this was not so much a measure of economy as an attempt to get control over gubernatorial despatches by putting them into the hands of the provincial secretary¹—at the time none other than Doctor Charles Tupper. This attempt was obviously at the time doomed to failure. Not so, however, the attempt to have inter-provincial correspondence placed in the hands of the respective provincial secretaries. Here Nova Scotia was the leader, but its followers fell behind, and correspondence between provinces was, for the most part, conducted by the respective governors up to the time of Confederation.² It might, however, be noted that invitations to the interprovincial conference of 1862 were issued to the other provincial secretaries by Howe acting "on command".³ This was not true of the conferences of 1864. Perhaps the fact that in 1862 all the governments invited were Reform governments, while in 1864 all were Conservative except New Brunswick's where the long tenure of the Reformers had tended very definitely to turn them into Tories, had a significance. The part of the governors in directing the movement for union in 1864 was notable.⁴ It was no mere form that the correspondence should have passed through their hands.

V

It is obvious that the practice of the constitution differed markedly among the provinces. In theory there was more uniformity. Governors and Colonial Office here seemed to stand solidly together. It was, perhaps, fortunate that they shared their theoretical views chiefly with each other rather than with their advisors, preferring to leave these relations on the basis of practice and precedence. But the theory was so striking, so clear, and so far removed from the theory of the British constitution toward which provincial leaders, both Reform and Con-

¹P.R.O., CO 217, vol. 236: Blackwood's minute to MacDonnell [to Cardwell, Dublin, April 28, 1864. See also N.S. Archives, *Executive Council minute book*, vol. 202: Minute of December 9, 1863.

²Even railway negotiations were not an exception. Cf. "Further correspondence relating to the Inter-Colonial Railway" (App. to *Journal*, New Brunswick, House of Assembly, 1863).

³*Journal*, Nova Scotia, House of Assembly, 1863, app. 17, pp. 2-3: Howe to Dorion, Tilley, and Pope, Aug. 14, 1862.

⁴R. G. Trotter, *Canadian federation: Its origins and achievement* (London, 1924), chapters 6-9; G. E. Wilson, "New Brunswick's entrance into Confederation"; and C. Martin, "British policy in Canadian Confederation" (*CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, March, 1932, pp. 3-19).

servative, were consciously aiming, that it may not be ignored. The governors could not but have been, indeed they were not, altogether uninfluenced in their conduct by the theory of their relationships with the local government on the one side and of the home government on the other. Again we are indebted to Head for perhaps the clearest statement of the theory of the new imperialism as held by governors and Colonial Office alike. It appears to be perilously like the theory of the old. Anxious in times of peace to prepare for war, Head sought confirmation as to his theory of responsible government from the Colonial Office, and received it unreservedly. Here are his own words:¹

- i. The Executive Council (if they remain in office) are "responsible" to the Colonial Legislature for the Acts of the Lieutenant Governor as administrator of the Colonial Government whether such acts are done with or without their express advice, or whether done by the direction of the Secretary of State or not. . . .
- ii. The Lt. Governor is "responsible" to no authority in the Colony but he is "responsible" to the Law of England, and to the Crown and Parliament of England for all his acts and all his despatches.
- iii. The Executive Council are in no sense or degree "responsible" for the despatches addressed by the Lt. Governor to Her Majesty's Secretary of State, except so far as such despatches convey their opinion and advice, (if acts result of which they disapprove then they can resign). . . .

The same notion appeared in a private letter of Sutton to Merivale:²

It is certainly not in accordance with the principles of constitutional government, that Ministers who refuse to concur in and to be responsible for an Executive Act which the Representative of the Crown deems to be necessary for the public interests should at the same time decline to afford to him the opportunity of seeking other advisers.

No attempt was here made to limit the theory to essentially imperial subjects. Indeed, the immediate occasion for Sutton's letter related merely to a dispute with his council over prohibition in New Brunswick. It was well for the integrity of empire that the Colonial Office, while allowing the minds of its governors to move in the realm of a constitutional theory that would have made of them divine right monarchs—with itself taking the rôle

¹Gov. House, N.S., *miscel. docs.*: copy of Head to Grey, separate, Feb. 28, 1852.

²P.R.O., CO 188, vol. 127: Sutton to Merivale, private, June 13, 1856. Bannerman's expression of the same was, as we might have expected, rather blunter and more forceful: "I shall never cease to look back with satisfaction to my dissolution, which will long be remembered in the Colony [Prince Edward Island], to form no bad precedent when a Lt. Govr's authority is disputed by those who ought to have supported him, or resigned" (P.R.O., CO 226, vol. 83: Bannerman to Merivale, private, June 19, 1854).

of the Almighty—was determined that in practice the provinces should in all local matters be allowed to shape their own destinies without interference from home. It was well, too, that governors were, for the most part, content to discuss political theory chiefly in confidential correspondence with the Office. Such insistence on Austinian doctrine inevitably meant empire or downfall; either Britain, through its governors, controlling the provinces, or the provinces becoming separate political entities. The governors were, for the most part, realists, however, and met situations as they came. They were powerfully aided in serving as a link of empire in those formative days by the fact that in the mother country "little-Englandism" was steadily on the increase, while in the provinces the sentiment for annexation had ebbed away and imperial loyalty became a flood that in the sixties tended to carry all before it. As little-Englanders, both great and small, were suggesting that the provinces be allowed to go, the provinces were becoming more determined to remain. The lot of the governor was made correspondingly lighter. Monck's task was infinitely easier than Elgin's had been. Nevertheless it was well that the governors did not preach their political doctrine too openly, that doctrine being what it was.

WILLIAM MENZIES WHITELAW

THE PEDLARS FROM QUEBEC

IN the history of the Canadian west there is a gap of twenty years about which we have hitherto known very little. From the year 1755, when the last French commandant in the west, the Chevalier de la Corne, came down to Montreal on the eve of the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, until the year 1775, when Alexander Henry made that expedition to the west which he has described in his *Travels and adventures*,¹ we have had very little direct evidence in regard to what was happening west of Lake Superior. The authorities in New France, engrossed in a life-and-death struggle with the English, paid no need to "the Posts of the Western Sea", so that in their voluminous correspondence during the Seven Years' War there is scarcely a reference to them; and all we have known hitherto with regard to the beginnings of the British fur-trade from Montreal to the west has been derived from secondary accounts, such as Sir Alexander Mackenzie's "General sketch of the fur-trade",² which were obviously unreliable.

We have been in doubt, and we are still in doubt, as to the exact date at which the French abandoned their western posts. Bougainville, enumerating "the Posts of the Western Sea" in 1757, describes seven of them as being still apparently in operation at that date;³ and we know that, in June, 1759, Charles de Langlade and François de la Vérendrye descended the Ottawa with twelve hundred Indians, some of whom would appear to have come from beyond Lake Superior.⁴ Possibly the forts on the Lake of the Woods and Rainy Lake were not abandoned until this year. It seems probable that the posts on the Saskatchewan were deserted about 1758; for in 1768, a servant of the Hudson's Bay Company, meeting some "Pedlars from Quebec" on the Saskatchewan, reported that "the Chief of those are the ones

¹Alexander Henry, *Travels and adventures* (New York, 1809; new ed., by J. Bain, Toronto, 1901).

²Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal* (London, 1801), i-cxxxiii.

³P. Margry, *Relations et documents inédits* (Paris, 1867), 39-84. So also the anonymous "Mémoire sur les forts de la Nouvelle France" (*Bulletin des recherches historiques*, 1931, 408-426).

⁴*Wisconsin historical collections*, xviii, 212-13.

that were living at those houses about Ten Yeares Ago".¹ Here and there a stray *voyageur* may have remained behind, to eke out a living with the Indians; for we know that in 1765 a French Canadian named Louis Primo found his way to York Factory, where he complained much, it was said, of "the Hardships he has gone through with the Indians these 5 or 6 years".² But such cases were rare; and we can say with certainty that by the time Wolfe and Montcalm met on the Plains of Abraham on September 13, 1759, there was no Frenchman, save an occasional straggler, left west of Lake Superior.

About the beginnings of the British fur-trade in the west, after the capture of Canada in 1760, we have hitherto been in similar doubt. Fortunately, there exists in the archives of Hudson's Bay House in London a source of information, as yet almost unexplored, which throws a flood of light on this problem. As early as 1766 the Hudson's Bay Company began sending their servants from York Factory into the interior to bring the Indians down to Hudson Bay; and it was a rule of the Company that these servants should keep diaries or journals. These journals have been preserved in an almost unbroken series from 1766 for many years afterwards, and they afford a remarkably full picture of what was taking place in the west after the British conquest of Canada. The Hudson's Bay Company's servants during these years watched with lynx-like eyes the doings of the "Pedlars from Quebec", and they entered in their journals, not only what they saw themselves, but every scrap of information they gleaned from the Indians.

It is clear from the journals in Hudson's Bay House that the British adventurers who flocked into Canada in the wake of Wolfe's army did not lose much time before they began to exploit the French fur-trade. As early as the summer of 1761 the Indians reported to the master of Moose Factory that the English were "as thick as Muskettos" on the Nottaway River, and other streams flowing into James Bay.³ Pontiac's Conspiracy check-

¹William Pink, Journal inland from York Factory, May 25, 1768 (Hudson's Bay House). For permission to reproduce this and subsequent extracts from the journals in Hudson's Bay House, I am indebted to the kindness of the governor and committee of the Hudson's Bay Company.

²York Factory journal, June 22, 1765 (Hudson's Bay House). Primo was a native of Quebec, and is described as "a very Talkative Man, Says he Can Neither read nor write, but is a Compleat Master of the Indian language." He remained in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1765 to 1771; but in 1772 he is found trading with the Canadian pedlars. He returned to Quebec in 1773; but he was again with the Canadians on the Saskatchewan in 1774, and in subsequent years until 1786.

³Moose Factory journal, July 26, 1761 (Hudson's Bay House).

mated for a time the plans of the British traders; and Alexander Henry has left in his *Travels and adventures* a vivid picture of the dangers which they faced at this time.¹ His escape from death at Michillimackinac in 1763 reads like a chapter from a shilling-shocker. Without doubt, many a fur-trader was killed by the Indians during the course of the Conspiracy; for in 1764 the Hudson's Bay Company factor at Severn House reported "several murders committed by the Indians on the pedlars up country", and described the Indians as coming to Severn House with "green scalps" at their belts.²

Once the Conspiracy was crushed, however, the quest for the furs was revived. The Hon. L. R. Masson, in his invaluable *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, says (on what authority I do not know) that in 1767 a trader named Clause (or more probably Claus) penetrated beyond Lake Nepigon, and nearly perished of starvation, being reduced, with his men, to eating furskins for subsistence.³ But it is certain that the fur-trade in the west was resumed before this date. In the summer of 1767 Jonathan Carver made his way from Prairie du Chien to Lake Superior, "in the hopes of meeting at Grand Portage, on the north side of it, the traders that annually go from Michillimackinac to the north-west", and at Grand Portage he found, in July, 1767, a large party of Crees and Assiniboines awaiting the arrival of "the traders from Michillimackinac, who make this their road to the north-west".⁴ Evidently, this was already an annual event. Sir Alexander Mackenzie, in the "General sketch of the fur-trade" which serves as an introduction to his *Voyages*, says that the first trade to the North-west commenced "so late as the year 1766", and that "the first who attempted it were satisfied to go the length of the River Camenistiquia, about thirty miles to the Eastward of the Grande Portage."⁵ But this, like so many of Mackenzie's statements, when dealing with matters outside his personal knowledge, is incorrect. It is clear that the pedlars were on Lake Winnipeg in 1766, or possibly in 1765; for Ferdinand Jacobs, the master of York Factory, writing to London in 1768, said, "I was Deceived Last year by the Indians telling me a Lye

¹Alexander Henry, *Travels and adventures* (New York, 1809).

²Severn House journal, January 24, 1764 (Hudson's Bay House).

³L. R. Masson, *Les bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest* (Quebec, 1889), I, 12-13.

⁴J. Carver, *Travels through the interior parts of North America* (3rd ed., London, 1781), 107.

⁵A. Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal*, viii.

of there being no Pedlars amongst them",¹ which must mean that the traders from Canada went past Lake Winnipeg before the winter of 1766-7; and in 1772 Matthew Cocking met on the Saskatchewan "a poor forlorn Frenchman", who told him that "He left the Pedlar Franceway seven years ago on account of ill-usage, & hath been with the Natives ever since"²—a statement which, if correct, indicates that traders from Canada were in the west as early as 1765.

Since the Pedlar Franceway would appear to have been, if not the first, at least one of the first traders in the west after the British conquest, it is interesting to inquire into his identity. Several guesses at it have been made, but none of them convincing. Some light on it is, however, thrown by the following extract from a letter of Ferdinand Jacobs from York Fort, dated August 23, 1768:

The Canada Pedlars are with large Quantities of Trading Goods in different parties, all over the Heart of the Trading Indians country, have carried large Quantities of Furrs down to Canada, and are coming again this Autumn in great Numbers and with Larger Quantities of Trading Goods to supply the Natives, the Names of the Master Pedlars are Sas'wow, whose French name is Francis Sirdaw, another Masters Name is Poe'ess, whose French name is Lewis Bee'solay, another of their Names is Eose'a'prue.³

None of these names may be identified in the fur-trade licence returns of the period; but the guess may be hazarded that "Lewis Bee'solay" is Louis Bissolet or Bissonnet, and that "Eose'a'prue" is a phonetic version of Joseph Proulx. What "Sirdaw" stands for is not so clear, unless it be an Englishman's attempt to set down on paper the French-Canadian surname Sirois. But that "Francis Sirdaw" was the Pedlar Franceway, there can be no doubt. Cocking distinctly says in 1772 that Franceway was known among the Indians as "Saswee"; and in the original manuscript of his "Journal of a journey inland from York Fort, June 27, 1772, to June 18, 1773", Cocking describes Franceway. "I found he was an ignorant Frenchman," he says, "seemingly above sixty years of age", who said he had been "thirty years

¹York Factory journal, August 23, 1768 (Hudson's Bay House).

²Matthew Cocking, *Journal of a journey inland from York Factory, 1772-3*, September 2, 1772 (Hudson's Bay House). The version of this journal printed by L. J. Burpee in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, third series, vol. ii, sec. ii, 89-121, is an abbreviated abstract of the original, from which a great deal of interest to the historian of the fur-trade has been omitted.

³Letter from F. Jacobs at York Factory to the secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, August 23, 1768 (Hudson's Bay House).

upon this business".¹ From the same journal it appears that, in 1768, Franceway had occupied a pedlar's house a day's paddle below what was afterwards known as Finlay's House on the Saskatchewan, that before this he had actually wintered at Finlay's House, and that two days' paddle above Finlay's House there was "a French house" which "formerly stood here possessed by the Pedler Franceway, but no remains of it appears". From 1768 to 1776 Franceway's name is constantly met with in the journals of the Hudson's Bay Company's servants on the Saskatchewan. He is found in partnership with Charles Paterson, William Holmes, and Peter Pangman; and he appears to have been employed as guide and trader by the firm of Todd and McGill of Montreal, and John Askin of Michillimackinac. In 1776 we learn from the Cumberland House journal that he has been "superanuted",² and on June 14, 1778, John Askin wrote from Michillimackinac to Todd and McGill at Montreal: "Old François is not yet arrived, but I expect him daily. I shall pay due attention to what you say respecting his going into the North. I'm sure he shall not with my consent & I dare say he will not without."³ Eleven days later Askin writes: "Old François goes for Detroit, he intends living there. I shall send a Young Brother-in-law of mine to take his place at Millwakee."⁴ Whereupon this veteran of the fur-trade passes from view.

The first direct evidence we have of Franceway's presence on the Saskatchewan is contained in the journal of William Pink, a Hudson's Bay Company servant who was sent inland from York Factory in 1767 to winter among the Indians, and to bring them down to trade in the spring. At The Pas, Pink writes that he has learnt from the Indians, "and by things that I see heare, that the people of Canada are neare hand"; and in the spring of 1768, under date of May 25, he has this entry:

This day as we were paddling Down the River, I See all on a Sodon on the North Side of it some of the people of Canada and a Little

¹Matthew Cocking, Journal, 1772-3, under date of May 22, 1773 (Hudson's Bay House).

²Cumberland House journal, January 22, 1776 (Hudson's Bay House).

³The explanation of these sentences is perhaps to be found in a letter which the traders at Sturgeon River Fort addressed to William Tomison on January 29, 1778, and which is reproduced in the Cumberland House Journal for 1777-8. This letter has the following post script: "Last November a Frenchman named Francis killed an Indian here. He steered his course by all accounts we can hear towards you. It is humbly begged of you by all the Traders here, that if he happens to be at your Fort or where he can be apprehended by you, we think ourselves as Englishmen in Freindship bound to advise you of the villain as per chance he may be guilty of as bad an action at your place."

⁴Wisconsin historical collections, XIV, 247 and 253.

up from the Rivers Side I see thare house the has made up of Poplo wood. The are consisting of Twelve Persons in Nomber, the chiefest persons Name is Shash, the are all French men that are heare upon the account that the English did not now the way. . . . I find that the are intended for to Gow something fother up the River this sommer and thare the are intended to Bild a house proper for them, the are Expecting 2 canewes more up this Sommer, and Seavrel of them are English men that are with them the say.¹

When he reached The Pas, he learnt from the Indians that there was also "a Nother house of the people of Canada over on a Noather River to the South of this called Mith, quag, e, me, See, pe".² This was apparently the Red River or the Assiniboine River; and we are able to guess at the identity of the traders who had camped upon it. We are fortunate in possessing the list of fur-trade licenses granted at Michillimackinac in 1767,³ and one of these is in the name of one Blondeau (probably Barthélemi Blondeau) for Fort La Reine, the French post on the Assiniboine near the site of Portage la Prairie, and Fort Dauphin, to the north of it on Lake Dauphin. Another license was granted to one Le Blancell for "Fort Dauphne and La Pierce"—the latter name being perhaps a copyist's error for "La Prairie". No doubt the post about which William Pink heard was that established by one of these parties. Incidentally, the fact that Franceway's name does not appear in the licenses for 1767 supports the view that he was in the west in 1766 or 1765.

The first English trader from Canada to penetrate to the Saskatchewan was James Finlay. He wintered at what came to be known as Finlay's House in 1768-9. Several of the Hudson's Bay servants who had been sent inland with the Indians saw him and talked with him. William Pink made the following entry in his journal, under date of May 16, 1769:

This day I came Down to the place where the people of Qebeck were staying as I went up. heare I find the people Belonging to this man were not yet come up. But heare is one English man with 12 French men with hym, his Name is James Finley from Montreal. He came up with Three canewes to this house, and Left a Little on this side of the Ruenes of the Loer French House [Basquia] one Canew with one English man and Fife French men, and theare way a comeing up Hither Below this the has left at to difrent plases Canewes aGaine, the say the has Liberty to Come or Gow as the Chueses in to the inland Contrey, But the Say that the are all Gowing Down to Montreale this Yeare Except one English man

¹William Pink, Journal inland, May 25, 1763 (Hudson's Bay House).

²*Ibid.*, June 3, 1768.

³"Fur-trade returns, 1767" (CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, III, 351-8).

and one French man that is to stay at the Loar house, for in the Fall the are expecting up Fife Canewes more.

The presence of Finlay on the Saskatchewan is also reported by Ferdinand Jacobs in the York Factory Journal for 1768-9, on June 19:

Edward Lutit & the other men [Isaac Batt, James Dearing, and James Allen] tells me they see one of the Pedlers wth some French & Indians wth him, he is one [of] the Masters & his Name is Jam^s Finley. he says he has a right to Come & Trade within 50 Leagues of the Company's Forts, and if the Company had 50 men inland they should not hinder him. . . . The above Mr. Finlay made an offer of 25£ pr Ann. to some of your Servants, and would Pay their Passage to Qebeck, and gave Pink the Following Directions where to Apply. You will Direct your Letters to Mr. James Finlay, Merchant in Montreal; To the Care of Mess^{rs} Hunter & Bailly, Merchants in London.

The scrap of paper on which James Finlay wrote these words on the Saskatchewan in 1769 was tipped into the York Factory Journal, and is still to be seen in Hudson's Bay House in London.

In the autumn of 1769 Finlay went to London, where he had an interview with Lord Hillsborough, the secretary of state for the colonies; and the following year he gave Daniel Claus in Montreal an account of his doings.

Saw Mr. J^s Finley [wrote Claus] who last year was so great a Distance to the Westward, viz^t Ft. prairie when he was met by five of the Hudson Bay Comp^{ys} Servants who were collecting the Ind^{ns} . . . Mr. Finlay lay upon a River falling into Hds [Bay] ab^t 200 Leagues from it. These Runners carried printed prohibitions directed to any of the Canada Traders, not to encroach upon the Comp^s District by severe penalties. Mr. Finley carried his Furs to England last Fall, says he was questioned by L^d Hillsb^h ab^t that Country, but as he was an illiterate person entirely unacquainted with Geography or perhaps the common points of y^e Compass could give but little light to his Lordship of y^e Country he was in.¹

About 1773 Finlay formed a partnership with a young Englishman named John Gregory, who was destined to play an important part in the history of the North West Company. The firm of Finlay and Gregory continued to send canoes to the west for ten years; and then James Finlay retired from active participation in business, and the firm was reorganized as Gregory and McLeod. This was the house in the employ of which Sir Alexander Mackenzie obtained his apprenticeship in the fur-trade, and it was the nucleus of the organization which contested with the North West Company the control of the north-west fur-trade in

¹The papers of Sir William Johnson (Albany, 1931), VII, 953.

1783-7. James Finlay died in Montreal in 1797; but two of his sons carried on his name in the fur-trade, and became wintering partners of the North West Company.

In 1769 and 1770 no canoes, apparently, succeeded in reaching the Saskatchewan. We know that Joseph Frobisher, a young Englishman who had been at Michillimackinac as early as 1764, made an attempt to reach the North-west in 1769, but was robbed and turned back by the Indians; and Mathew Cocking, in his journal of 1772, mentions "innumerable hardships which the Pedlars suffer from several Nations of Indians through whom they pass in coming up from the grand Carrying Place". It is significant that the anonymous author of *The origin and progress of the North West Company* says that it was not safe for traders to push through to Lake Winnipeg until 1771.¹ Possibly Blondeau, who was granted a license for "Michillimackinac and La Mer de l'Ouest" in 1769, and who had Indian blood in his veins, may have reached the Assiniboine in that and the following year; for "Blondishe's Fort" on that river was so well-known for so many years that it may well have been occupied continuously. But it is clear that there was some serious interruption to the trade in 1769-70; and it was only when the Canadian traders succeeded in enlisting the services of an important Indian chief named Wappenasew that the trade with the Saskatchewan was resumed.

The trader who succeeded in piercing the barrier was Thomas Corry. Corry was an almost illiterate Scotsman who had apparently an instinctive appreciation of Indian psychology. He was engaged in the fur-trade from Michillimackinac as early as 1767, when he obtained a license to go to "Camnistugouia" with two canoes. His guarantor was Isaac Todd, who was destined to become one of the fur-trade barons of Montreal. It was Wappenasew, however, who was mainly responsible for his success in reaching the Saskatchewan. The latter was described by Andrew Graham, the master of York Factory, as "a Person of Prime Consideration with the Natives".

He came [says Graham] to York Fort in 1755 & continued with us until two years ago, when the Canadians who have great need of his assistance to promote their Trade & protect their Persons, tried every means to attach him to their Service, & they have succeeded. He lives in their House all the Winter, dines at Table with the

¹On the origin and progress of the North West Company of Canada, with a history of the fur-trade (London, 1811).

Master, & his family are cloathed with cloth & no favour is refused. In return he induces the Indians to resort thither, he Convoys the large Canoes up & down to Michillimackinac & in great Measure prevents the numerous Tribes through which they are obliged to pass, from molesting them.¹

Corry wintered at Cedar Lake, two days' paddle below Basquia, in 1771-2, in "a decent kind of a House, Stockaded round"; and Cocking testified in the summer of 1772 that the Indians "all speak greatly in praise of the generosity of the Chief Pedler Correy, who came up this year, giving abundance of goods for nothing, and trading at a cheap rate". On July 7, 1772, the Indians informed Andrew Graham at York Factory that "they spoke with Thomas Corry in the Great Lake on his way to the Grand Fort with seven large Canoes loaded with Beavers";² but Corry evidently returned from Grand Portage the same autumn, for on March 4, 1773, Cocking reported that: "Correy the Pedler, of whose generosity they spoke so much in praise of last year, is laying on this side Basquio." Sir Alexander Mackenzie's statement that Corry spent only one winter on the Saskatchewan and "came back the following spring with his canoes filled with fine furs, with which he proceeded to Canada, and was satisfied never again to return to the Indian country",³ is (like so many of Mackenzie's statements) not strictly accurate. Corry undoubtedly spent two winters in the Saskatchewan country; but it seems clear that these sufficed to give him a competency on which to retire. He settled first in Montreal, and later in L'Assomption, where he kept a shop from 1779 to 1785. After that date, however, he disappears from view, and I have not been able to ascertain the date of his death.

In the summer of 1772 two of Corry's men, a New Englander named John Cole, and a French Canadian named Bové, deserted him, and took service with the Hudson's Bay Company at York Factory. Nothing could give a clearer idea of the character of Corry, with its mixture of humour, courage, insolence and illiteracy, than the two letters which he addressed on this occasion to Andrew Graham, the master at York Factory:

¹Andrew Graham to the governor and committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, York Fort, August 26, 1772 (Hudson's Bay House).

²York Factory journal, July 7, 1772 (Hudson's Bay House).

³A. Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal*, viii. Corry was not, as Mackenzie says, the first trader to reach the Saskatchewan after the conquest.

(1)

River De Pan 2^d June, 1772.

Sir,

Wabunashui Desired me to let you know that he Dwoe knot go to See you this Spring But Send his pipe Stem and Will go to the Grandportge with me if you have ane thing to Send him you may Send it By the Bellhom he Says he will Com to see you the next Spring he hopes you will knot Bee angre with him as he has Drank Soo much Brandy this winter he canot Com But must Com with me to the Grandportage to Drinke two or three Casks Dear Sir as I have 2 of my men that has Robed me this winter and ar with the Indine I suppose the will Com to your fort I should Be much oblight to you if you wold send them to London and I will Pay thir Pasage I hope to Be in London in Novmber next I aske your Pardon for writing to you in Such a maner But you most think in what Confuson I am in with two hundred Drunken villions about me

I have know News But that the Indians have made the worst hunt this year that Ever was known

I am Dear Sir

Your Most

Humbel Sarv.

[signed] THO. CORRY

To Mr. Graham.

NB the two men names his one John Cool a New English man the other Bove a Canaden.

Endorsed

YF 1772 Mr. Thos. Corry (a Pedler)

Letter to Mr. Graham Dated River de Pan 2nd June, 1772.

(2)

June 10th 1772.

Sir

the Bearer of thess is a Good man and has he Comes to your fort will Let you know how things go on in this Part of the world Dear Sir if ane of my men Shold Com to your fort I Should Be Glade if you wold Send them Prsners to London as the have Robed me of a Consetrabel Sum in Goods and I will Pay ther Pasage if ther his ane thing in this Part of World that I or ane of the Gentelmen of this Compene Can Sarve you we will Dwo all in our Power if you have ane Commands you will wright to John askin how will Com to winter in the River De Pan

I Entend to go to London this y falle I sowpose two or thre of my men will Com to you with [underciphable] Dwont Belive ane

thing that he Tells you he avallon one of my men his a new English man named Coole the Rest his Canadens one Bove this two ar notras villons.

I am Dear Sir your humbel Sarv^t
[signed] THOS. CORRY¹

Endorsed
YF 1772 Mr. Thos. Corry (a Pedlar)
Letter to Mr. Andrew Graham
Dated 10 June, 1772.

In 1772 several parties followed Corry's trail. In the autumn of that year Franceway reached Finlay's House with fifteen canoes, and wintered there. Barthélemi Blondeau wintered on the Red Deer River; and an American trader named William Bruce at Basquia. Franceway and Blondeau appear to have been in partnership, and to have been outfitted, like Corry, by Todd and McGill of Montreal. But Bruce was an independent trader. He told Cocking that "he had been a Trader among the Indians at Mississippi, where a difference happening between his Men and the Natives he had killed one of the latter, and was obliged to leave that part and entered into this Trade, being the first time of his being up." In a list of North West traders drawn up in 1778 he is described as "bad and rebel"; but he continued to play a part in the western trade during the whole course of the American Revolution, and in 1780 he and Charles Boyer made a gallant defence of Fort des Trembles on the Assiniboine when it was attacked by the Indians. Shortly afterwards, however, he was carried off by the smallpox epidemic of 1781-2.

It was in the year 1773 that Joseph and Thomas Frobisher first appeared in the west. In that year Blondeau was described as "up the Saskatchewan"; Bruce was near the Red Deer River; "Six canoes of Pedlers under an Englishman they call Joe wintered on the south side of the lesser Sea Lake" (probably at Fort Dauphin); and "Mr. Frobisher, Jun^r" (Thomas?) built a house about ten miles to the east of the site of Cumberland House on Pine Island Lake. Joseph Frobisher, a native of York in England, had been at Michillimackinac as early as 1764, and he appears from the fur-trade licences of 1767 to have been heavily engaged at that time, with his brothers Benjamin and Thomas, in the fur-trade in Lake Michigan. In 1773, however, he shifted his attention to the North-west, and from that day to his death in Montreal in 1809 he was one of the great figures in the north-

¹Letters from York Factory, VI, fols. 333-6 (Hudson's Bay House).

west trade. He was one of the chief founders of the North West Company; and he became one of the chief partners in the firm of McTavish, Frobisher and Company, to which the North West Company owed no small part of its success.

By 1774 the pedlars from Quebec had made such inroads on the trade of York Factory that Samuel Hearne, one of the ablest and most experienced officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, was sent inland to found Cumberland House on the Saskatchewan; and Hearne's journal of his journey inland gives a detailed account of the movements of the pedlars in that year.¹ He reports that upwards of sixty canoes "came inland from the Grand Portage" in 1774; but he computes that twenty or thirty of these went south of Lake Winnipeg, and did not affect the trade of the Hudson's Bay Company. Of the remainder, a number of traders, including Bruce, Blondeau, Tute, and others, "struck off to the Southwest when a little above the great Lake or Wenipegg"; Franceway, Charles Paterson, William Holmes, and Peter Pangman made their winter headquarters about one hundred and fifty miles above Cumberland House on the Saskatchewan; and Joseph and Thomas Frobisher pushed north of the Saskatchewan to "the Draft of Churchill River", whither they had dispatched in the spring Louis Primo and three other men to build a house (afterwards named Fort La Traite), from which they hoped to reach the Athabaska country, and interrupt the trade of Fort Churchill. This venture of the Frobishers, however, proved nearly fatal; for Hearne says that in the spring of 1775 Joseph Frobisher moved back to the Saskatchewan, and built a post near Cumberland House—the reason being "the great Destress he ware in for Provisions, which ware realy shocking. One or two of his men dyed for real want, and one of them Shott by the Indians for Eating human flesh, the Corps of one of their deceased friends. Mr. Forborsher himself ware so destresst that he eat all the Parchment, Moose, etc. and many of his Furs, and even a few garden seeds which he proposed to have sown the following Spring he also eat to satisfy hunger."

Among those who appeared in the west in 1774 are some new names. James Tute, who went south-west with Bruce and Blondeau toward Fort Dauphin, was a former captain in Rogers' Rangers during the Seven Years' War, and had been hitherto engaged in the fur-trade in the Illinois country. He fell a victim,

¹Samuel Hearne, *Journal of a journey inland from York Fort towards Basquiau, commencing 23 June, 1774, and ending 23 June, 1775* (Hudson's Bay House).

like Bruce, to the smallpox epidemic of 1781-2. Charles Paterson, who accompanied Franceway, was a trader from Montreal, who ultimately transferred his interests to the Illinois trade, became the director for the trade of the Michillimackinac Company in Lake Michigan, and was drowned in Lake Michigan in 1788 under most dramatic circumstances. A man imbued with "the ancient North West spirit", he forced his men to set out on "water white as a sheet"; and the next day his dead body was found on shore, half-buried in sand, still holding by the hand his *Panise*, or Indian slave-woman (whom he had apparently striven to save), and guarded by his huge white dog, which would not allow anyone to approach the bodies until it was driven away with sticks.¹ William Holmes was also a trader from Montreal, and was destined to become later one of the early members of the North West Company, his share in which he sold to John Gregory only in 1790. Peter Pangman was a New Englander of German extraction who had been concerned in the fur-trade on the Mississippi as early as 1767, who became in 1783 a member of the opposition company of Gregory and McLeod, and a partner in the North West Company in 1787, and who was after 1794 the proprietor of the seigniory of Lachenaie in Lower Canada, where he died in 1819.

With the establishment of the Hudson's Bay post of Cumberland House, our information with regard to the pedlars from Canada becomes fuller and more detailed. The master at Cumberland House watched the movements of his competitors closely. His journal for 1775-6 does not, it is true, add much to our knowledge; for that was the year when Alexander Henry the elder wintered in the west, and Henry has left us in his *Travels and adventures* a fairly complete account of the movements of the pedlars during that year. Peter Pond went to Lake Dauphin; Jean Baptiste Cadotte, Henry's old partner from Michillimackinac, went to Fort des Prairies, or Upper Neepawi, just below the Forks of the Saskatchewan; and Henry, with Joseph and Thomas Frobisher, pushed north to Beaver Lake, on the way to Churchill River. During the winter Henry returned to Fort des Prairies, and, in company with Charles Paterson and William Holmes, visited the Assiniboine country. Thence he returned to Beaver Lake; and in the summer of 1776 he and Joseph Frobisher returned to Grand Portage. Neither of them was destined ever to see the western country again, but Thomas Frobisher remained

¹Michigan pioneer and historical collections, XXXVII, 539-41.

behind with instructions to push north-west toward Lake Athabaska, and in 1775-6 he wintered at Isle à la Crosse.

In the years following 1775, however, the journals of the Hudson's Bay men are again our chief source of information. Again new names make their appearance—Captain Booty Graves, the partner of Peter Pond; Charles McCormick, to whom William Tomison at Cumberland House referred when he wrote of "wild fellows such as McCormick going about Sword in hand threatening the Natives to make them trade with him"¹; and Nicholas Montour, a French-Canadian clerk of the Frobishers who became later a partner in the North West Company, seigneur of Pointe-du-Lac, and a member of the legislature in Lower Canada from 1796 to 1800. In 1777 Graves, McCormick, and Montour were all apparently wintering at Sturgeon River Fort near what is now Prince Albert with Peter Pangman, Peter Pond, and Barthélemy Blondeau. In the spring of 1778 we learn that Peter Pond arrived at Cumberland House "with five large canoes from above loaded with Goods", and that he was "going to penetrate to the Athapuscow country as far as he can possibly go, and there stay the next winter".² On July 2, 1779, he returned to Cumberland House from the Athabaska country in a starving condition; and we learn that he had made one hundred and forty packs, but had to leave most of them behind. In 1779 we meet for the first time the names of Venant St. Germain, afterwards the companion of Edward Unfreville in his exploration of a new route from Lake Superior to the west; Robert Grant, the first of those numerous Grants in the west, the identities and relationships of whom baffle one to determine; and an Englishman named Jacobs. We have an account of the fracas with the Indians on the Saskatchewan in 1779 which resulted in the death of John Cole, the New Englander who had first deserted the Canadians for the Hudson's Bay Company, and then the Hudson's Bay Company for the Canadians. We have a description of the smallpox epidemic of 1781-2, which seems to have come from the Indians to the south of the Saskatchewan; and we learn that several of the Canadian traders, amongst them William Bruce and James Tute, fell victims to it. We hear rumours of a battle between the Indians and the Canadian traders on the Red River in 1781; and we see reflected in the journals the growing intensity of the struggle for

¹Cumberland House journal, March 15, 1779 (Hudson's Bay House).

²For an account of Peter Pond's explorations, see H. A. Innis, *Peter Pond, fur trader and adventurer* (Toronto, 1930). An account of Pond's visit to the Athabaska country is to be found in A. Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal*, xii-xiii.

the furs between the Canadian traders and the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company.

At first the relations between the Hudson's Bay men and the traders from Canada were extraordinarily amicable. In 1772 Mathew Cocking twice accepted an invitation to dine with Franceway at his house on the Saskatchewan, "as it gave me", he says, "an opportunity to see his Habitation". In 1774 Charles Paterson succored on Lake Winnipeg a servant of the Hudson's Bay Company named Robert Flatt, who had been stripped by the Indians "almost Naked"; and declined to accept any recompense for the "expence they ware at in cloathing him, etc." Samuel Hearne, to whom they delivered the derelict Flatt, was invited by Paterson, Frobisher, and Franceway to sup with them; and "as they were so near", he says, "I did not think any harm in accepting." In 1778 Blondeau gave Robert Longmore, who had been sent to establish Hudson House on the North Saskatchewan, a house and provisions for the winter, and thus possibly saved the lives of the Hudson's Bay party. When the Canadian traders called at Cumberland House, they were treated with courtesy and sometimes with kindness.

But gradually the rivalry between Hudson Bay and Canada brought about dissension. Longmore complained bitterly about his ill-treatment by Joseph Frobisher and Alexander Henry in the summer of 1776, and in 1778 there was a violent scene between Longmore and William Holmes near Hudson House. Finally, in the spring of 1780, Tomison, at Cumberland House, went the length of arresting a Canadian trader named Patrick Small, who had recently arrived in the North-west. Tomison had lent to the Indians three beaver coats, stamped with the mark of the Hudson's Bay Company, and he had learned that these coats had been sold by the Indians to the Canadian traders, and had been taken away by them to the Grand Portage. When Small, who had been wintering to the north of the Saskatchewan, arrived at Cumberland House, Tomison, who was a man of aggressive temper, held him. Small protested that he knew nothing about the three beaver coats; but Tomison was adamant, and it was only when Small, after having been detained four days, gave him the equivalent of the stolen goods that he allowed the Canadian trader to proceed on his way.

In making their way into the North-west, the "pedlars from Quebec" had certain advantages. They derived from the French a knowledge of the route that led to the fur-bearing areas that

La Vérendrye had tapped and the Hudson's Bay Company had exploited. They were indebted to the French also for the large birch-bark canoe and the snow-shoe, both inventions of Canadian origin. The birch-bark canoe, in particular, gave them a great advantage over the Hudson's Bay Company, since birch-bark cannot be procured on the shores of Hudson Bay. They owed not a little, in the solution of the problem of food, in their long inland journeys, to the discovery of the uses of wild rice and of dried meat as food. Of especial importance was the discovery of pemmican—"dry'd meat, pounded to a powder and mixed up with Buffaloe's grease, which preserves it in the warm seasons here"—and it is certain that the success of the Canadians in reaching Athabaska was partly due to this food. Fur-traders, like armies, travel on their stomachs. But, undoubtedly, the chief factor in the success of the "pedlars from Quebec" was their indomitable courage—the characteristic which was later described as "the ancient North-West spirit". No more dauntless group of adventurers ever put it to the touch, to gain or lose it all.

W. S. WALLACE

ASIATIC MIGRATIONS INTO AMERICA

HOW America was first peopled is a topic of wide interest. It challenges speculation at large no less than in scientific laboratories, perhaps more. That question used to weary me through its frequency, when, twenty years ago, I began my work as a young ethnologist. The curiosity of the man in the street as to the Indians seemed to stop at—Where do they come from?

Mormon solved the question at an early date by stating on his tablet that they were the ten lost tribes of Israel; and his opinion is still shared by many of his adherents. Some of the Roman Catholic missionaries in the North-west independently came to similar conclusions, Petitot¹ for instance, went so far as to quote linguistic parallels between the Hebraic and Athapascan languages.

The Indians have so many root languages quite distinct from each other, so many dialects within each language, they were until recently so diversified in culture, that they must be almost as old as America itself. At least so it seemed to most ethnographers, who were too busy studying particular groups of tribes to give much thought to the broader aspects of origin. The origin of the Indians in a way defied close investigation, and it was left to take care of itself. Veteran ethnologists showed impatience when their juniors trespassed upon their preserves. Some young impertinents suggested that the number of independent linguistic stocks could be reduced by re-classification; or that much of our Indian stuff in museums is of recent derivative origin—for instance, costumes and the floral and geometric designs embroidered or painted upon them. But they were met with gentle rebukes. Why meddle with things?

Archæologists alone at times threw a bomb, to arouse public interest and to emulate their European *confrères* in antiquity. One of them would dig up a skull that was a hundred thousand years old or more, just as is often done in the old refuse of Europe. But it was contended in other quarters that the skull was a mere intruder which had slipped down from the upper strata. Traces of a very ancient culture or people on this continent were unearthed from time to time. But none of them so far have finally

¹R. P. E. Petitot, "Essai sur l'origine des Déné-Dindjié" (*Monographie des Déné-Dindjié*, 4-105). Also A. G. Morice, "Essai sur l'origine des Dénés de l'Amérique du Nord" (*Nouvelle-France*, XV, no. 2, 1916).

established that native American races are really indigenous, and it is fairly clear that America was still without man when other parts of the earth were peopled.

The attitude of scientists towards this problem has undergone a marked change in the past decade. From one of indifference it has become inquisitive, when not venturesome. Red, yellow, and green stripes are being drawn laterally on the map of the continents; I saw it done by a noted English anthropologist at the last meeting of the British Association in Toronto. Were the North American people mostly from Asia? Were those of Central and South America descended from remote equatorial ancestors overseas? The fashion of thinking inter-continentially, as it were, is spreading. America is fast losing its insularity. Paul Rivet, a French professor, startled us with his study of what he calls "Les Malayo-Polynésien en Amérique" (*Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, 1926). By Malayo-Polynesians in America he means the Hokan linguistic stock, a large one, in California and Mexico. To support his theory, he gives more than a hundred large pages of linguistic evidence. And we cannot see how it can be dismissed, as has been done, by a mere shrug of the shoulders. This is a field that should be further investigated. Europeans for years have studied striking parallels in the manual devices of the South American natives—pan-pipes, for instance, the blow-gun, the poison-dart, and many other things. Linguists recently have stated that Athapascan is an Asiatic rather than an American language—of Mongolian extraction. Yet its ramifications cover huge territories in America, from Alaska to Mexico. I heard this year a professor of the Sorbonne state that Athapascan belongs to a system with contacts as far as Burma in Asia, on the one side, and Mexico, on the other. Yet not a single page of evidence on this so far seems to have been published.

It is apparent that *savants* like other mortals are creatures of fashion. Some of them accept on too little explicit evidence that the red man is extra-American, whereas others quite as hastily rejected, a few years before, the notion that America has been peopled from without. Had I to gamble on this alternative, I would rather put my money on the last proposition—the Mexican-Burman extravaganza as it were. It appeals more to the imagination for one thing, and some day large tomes which nobody can read may be produced in support. The simple fact of their appearance will be taken as final proof.

I was not aware that my research on the tribes of the north-west coast, which I began at Oxford, would ever bring this problem of origin close to my own doorstep. The west coast, for one thing, is a long way off the tip of the Alaskan peninsula. Its nations are so individualized in language—six distinct linguistic stocks—that such diversity can be produced only through a slow process of change. To investigate the problem of Asiatic migrations on the spot, one must go to the Strait of Bering itself, from East Cape, through Diomed Islands, to Cape Prince of Wales. Such is the accepted presumption.

But I was greatly surprised when, sailing from Vancouver to Kitchikan, I saw the north-west coast and its natives for the first time. Those were not the Indians I had been used to elsewhere. There is something strangely un-American in the coast. The farther north towards Alaska one goes the more exotic its features. The dark green drapery of the forests looks semi-tropical, along the island channels that reflect trees and mountains like a mirror. Tall evergreens—hemlock, pines, and cedars—stand everywhere heavy with moisture, some of them real giants. The native villages in the coves, soft vistas in the morning mists, and deep mountain gorges evoke reminiscences of other lands, away from this continent.

An eastern Canadian myself, I felt that I had come nearer the tropics. I stood on the threshold of another continent, quite novel and pungent with a strange fragrance. Here was the jungle as described in the tales of Conrad. At other moments I had reminiscences of the orient, of Asia. Fleecy clouds surrounded mountain peaks that were covered with snow, as they are depicted in Japanese water-colours. Just as the map showed it, we were coming nearer to Japan. The currents across the Pacific brought the balmy air from the south seas, just as they at times carry uprooted trees for thousands of miles from Micronesia and beach them on the western shores of Canada. This unknown world to that moment had never been quite conveyed to me, though I had myself written a thesis on the social organization of the tribes of the north-west coast.

As we landed at Alert Bay, the smell of the salt weeds pinched our nostrils. I could see long kelp tubes floating in the water and "sea cucumbers" in the rock crevices. The boards we walked on were slippery with moisture; they rested on posts driven into the muskeg. Entering the Indian village I had the first direct contact with things I had read of in books or seen in pictures.

Indian women squatted on platforms in front of the village, facing the sea, their shawls drawn around their foreheads. They were sullen and motionless, like stone idols before a Chinese temple. Behind them plank lodges stood in a row, and children peeped at us with slanting eyes, in the doorways. Tall, carved pillars—totem poles—decorated the house fronts; their grotesque figures stared at us like ghosts from the nether world—the thunder-bird, the wolf, the whale, and angered sea-monsters.

A chief approached from the other end of the village (I learned later that this had been arranged for our benefit), staff in hand, a woven-root hat on his head, like that of Japanese fisherfolk, and wrapped in a blanket of goat's wool. His stockings were knit of thick wool with zig-zag designs white, red, and green. His stately demeanour was one never to be forgotten. He was as impressive as a king on a throne. He did not look at us. We moved aside to let him pass. His features were massive, his complexion like reddish-copper. There was something of the grizzly-bear in him—the grizzly-bear of his mountains which he must have hunted many times. Yet he was distinctly a Mongolian. He was thick and squatty. I thought of Buddha, after he had gone—a Buddha that had journeyed all the way from Manchuria, across the Siberian wastes and the Strait of Bering, then down the west coast to the country of the American natives.

He was a Kwakiutl, a fisherman who used to hunt whales with his tribesmen and capture sea-lions, in the old days. How different those people were from the Indians of the prairies, the Blackfoot or the Sioux, whose type is more familiar to eastern Canadians! Whereas the rovers of the prairie coveted nothing but buffalo meat, the Kwakiutl, here at Alert Bay, depended on the sea for their subsistence; their food was salmon, seal blubber, and candle-fish oil. They could not travel any distance without their one-piece canoes hollowed out from the trunks of huge cedars. I could see many of those dug-outs lying dry on the beach. There was the same contrast in the features of the people. The face was broad and square; the nose was flat, and the jaw massive. They were short and broad in stature. Often they had bowlegs, as if from their habit of squatting in canoes. Their physiognomy, quite different from that of the nomads of the prairie, was decidedly Mongolian. I could hear my fellow-visitors say: "But these people are not American Indians—they are Asiatics." More than ever it seemed that we had already gone over the border from America into the realm of the mystic dragon beyond the sea.

The scene we were in rather belonged to Asia itself; if not the real Asia, at least that which has been brought to us in many different ways—by the willow pattern on English china, the Japanese prints, or the motion pictures of Tibetans dancing with masks and turning their palms forward.

Those first impressions of what we may call Canada's Asiatic coast remained unchanged in the course of subsequent visits. Whether the approach to the Alaskan border was through Seattle and Vancouver northwards or through the Yellow-head pass westwards across the Rockies, the experience was repeated. It was like gradually passing from the American highland, with its eagle-plumed red Indians, its dry, scented grass, its sun-baked hills and wind-swept spaces, into the lower, more intimate, sphere of the jungle and the sea, where soft mists hang low till late in the day and tropical rains in the winter drench the thick foliage and leave it moist for the rest of the year. As soon as one proceeds over the divide in the northern Rockies, down the rivers of the west coast, the difference grows at every step. To the warrior's plume, scarlet and swaying on pliant stems in the wind, succeed patches of wild briars, then fields of purple fireweed. On the plateaus at the headwaters of the Skeena, the Nass, and the Stikine, the cotton-wood trees grow to a large size. But those give way to red alders and cedars. Ferns and Indian rhubarb thicken in the underbrush, then the devil's club with its large, lustrous leaves, red fruit, and vicious needles. Salmon-berries and huckleberries, pink, white, and blue, complete the picture. Once more we are at the tide-waters, where the vegetation is so thick and the muskeg so deep that it is unsafe to venture far into the bush.

Indian villages, those of the Tsimshian or the Tlingit, make their appearance, at long intervals, in the green drapery of the forests of cedar and hemlock. In their neighbourhood stand toy-like villages, consisting of diminutive houses. Those are for the departed souls of the tribe—graveyards, no less, but in a style unfamiliar to us. The pointed or round roofs are Slavic in character. They suggest Asiatic proximity, or rather the Russian influence over that whole country. Russia for a hundred and fifty years occupied the Alaskan coast, built fur-trading posts, and left its mark among the natives both in their blood and handicrafts. Those little graveyards in some ways were more Slavic than they are Mongolian. Once more they evoked an exotic picture, that of the orient with its curved domes and flamboyant architecture.

Such impressions may not be considered as scientific, but they

come from the impact of real life. They have nothing to do with the usual distortions of primary education and pseudo-knowledge acquired later in life. Whoever follows the same path may have exactly the same experience.

All this is to say that the north-western Indians do not quite belong to America as those living in the eastern part of the continent know it best: we are used to visualize as Indians the Iroquois, the Siouans, or the Algonkins, who are a different type, long- or oval-faced, taller, and further removed from our usual conception of the Mongolian. The Indians experienced the same sense of difference between themselves when, some years ago, they were grouped together in an international exhibition. "Those are not Indians, like ourselves!" was the attitude of the so-called red men east of the Rockies towards their Mongoloid brothers of the Pacific coast.

In other words, there is no such thing as a distinct race of American Indians, whose skin is red, and whose origin may be traced back to the same Garden-of-Eden-like cradle. The tribes of the north-west and Alaskan coasts stand clearly by themselves, a challenge to the unity of the American race. At least two or three types of Indians exist more or less side by side on this northern continent alone. These must go back to different waves or migrations that arrived there in turns, in different periods, and followed their path onwards.

The discovery in recent years of Mongolian spots among North-American natives—dark dots on the lower part of the back in children—has brought out a *very specific* similarity between the children of both contiguous continents. And we knew beforehand of the Mongolian fold in the eyelid, both in Asia and on the west coast. Sixty per cent. of native American children in the North-west have the Asiatic dots, according to a recent compilation;¹ and this may represent the proportion of native to foreign blood in their veins, many of them being "breeds". Whoever has travelled and observed natives for thousands of miles on both sides of Bering, fails to find a hard and fast racial frontier. America's north-western Indians are Asiatic-like; or the Siberian tribes are strikingly American.

The widespread similarity of type and culture there is so insistent that specialists now discuss the question: Are the Chuk-

¹From recent verbal information given by Paul Rivet. The percentage of Mongolian dots given here was computed by a specialist attached to the second expedition in north-western Canada under Paul Coze (1931). See also G. E. Darby, "The Mongolian spot—B.C. coast Indians" (*Museum and art notes*, December, 1930).

chees and Koriaks of Siberia early emigrants from Alaska? Are the Siberian Eskimos from the American Arctic coast? Some actually believe they are: or the other way about. The theory of American insularity in this respect is a myth, though it dies hard. There is no absolute racial boundary between the continents, no break anywhere—if that long-presumed void between Alaska and Siberia can be bridged. And it can.

When the fur-traders of the Hudson's Bay Company established a post on the Alaskan border, they found themselves confronted with natives at war with each other. Their first establishment stood, in 1832, at a spot now named Graveyard Point, at the mouth of the Nass River. But they soon found out that the location was not the best for their business, as they wanted to deal with several nations at a place where each had easy access without molestation. So they accepted the invitation of a chief named Legyarh, of the Eagle clan, and transferred their station to the Place-of-wild-roses, which they named Port Simpson, further down, on the open sea-coast. There the natives of Alaska, of the Queen Charlotte Islands, and of the neighbouring rivers could come and go without fear of ambush.

Even so, there was an open battle a few years later, in front of the fort, between the Haidas of Queen Charlotte Island and the local Tsimsyans. The traders had to interfere with their guns, to uphold their right to "free trade" with their customers at large. And that was the last outbreak of a feud the beginning of which went back to prehistoric days. If the nature of this conflict can be made clear, I will have gone a long way towards clarifying the problem of how that country was first peopled.

At long range, the climate on the coast of northern British Columbia and Alaska may be thought cold and inclement, as this country is nearly sub-arctic on the map. But it is not. In a whole winter I spent close to the Alaskan frontier, snow remained on the ground only about a week, in February, and it never was quite frozen. The days are short, true enough; two or three seasons are rainy; but the air is balmy throughout the year. The Japanese current, like the gulf-stream, breathes on the whole coast the warmth and moisture that have come a long way from the tropics. The vegetation as a result is semi-tropical. Wild fruits are most abundant.

The richness of the coast vegetation is amply matched by that of the fauna. Fish and wild life teem everywhere, in the bays, up

the rivers, and in the forests. Whales, sea-lions, seals were hunted by the natives in their dug-outs; salmon of five varieties ran up the rivers in incredible numbers—they used to be so abundant at the foot of waterfalls that people could walk upon them. Halibut, herring, and candle-fish spawned close to shore, and were caught in various ways. And the forests inland were rich with game. Nowhere in America was there such diversity of food and such abundance easily within reach.

The inevitable happened. The natives from far and wide tried to gain a foothold there, to share in the bounties that made life easy. This likewise had happened on the prairies, where the buffalo herds drew scattered bands from all round their periphery; with that difference, however, that the whole coast southwards was equally bounteous, whereas the northern interior was bleak and barren, and the winters in the country of the buffalo were cold everywhere.

The mouth of the Nass, where the Hudson's Bay Company first established its post, was like a magnet for its foods to the northerly tribes; it drew to itself many people from long distances, particularly for its run of candle-fish (*ulaken*). The candlefish provides in huge quantities the fat that is one of the essential ingredients for food of the whole country, in the interior no less than on the coast. It was an article of trade in great demand along the many "grease trails"—so much so that everybody within measurable distance migrated for the spring run at the mouth of the Nass, and put up fish-oil in large wooden containers. For miles on both shores could be seen the camps of five or six contiguous nations. And strife often broke out among them. During the salmon run up the rivers, the coastal people ascended the streams to set their weirs close to waterfalls or even as far as the headwaters. There they encountered the nomads of the interior and engaged in warfare with them over disputed grounds.

The Hudson's Bay Company was right in considering the Nass as a thoroughfare of Indian life and a great trading centre. But it soon realized that the feuds between tribes made access in narrow channels perilous most of the year—unless the trading parties came in full force. Besides, the Nass was the home of the powerful Wolf clans, whose origin was mainly from the northern interior. And their quarrel with the Eagle clans of the coast was as bitter as it was ancient. The Wolves and the Eagles were both migrants from the north, reaching out at the same time for the same southerly preserves. Hence their enmity.

Legyarh, the powerful chief of the Eagle clans of the coast, prevailed upon Dr. Kennedy, the chief Hudson's Bay Company trader, first, to marry his niece, and then to move down to his preserves on the coast, to what became Port Simpson. This happened in 1833. The story of Legyarh and his ancestors, all of the same name—as chief's names are hereditary—is an epic. Unfortunately it cannot be told in a small space. But here is the gist of it.

About six generations ago, the first Legyarh whose identity is remembered, had to leave Na'a (now Port Chester, Alaska) with the members of his clan, after their defeat at the hands of their rivals, the Wolves. Some members of his family at the time settled in three foreign nations to the south, who welcomed them for their prestige—they belonged to native aristocracy, were brave warriors and great traders; and part of their wealth presumably came from their associations with the early cossack traders from Russia. Legyarh's own family travelled several hundred miles south, to a point near Vancouver Island, and there settled down with southern villagers. But the children of the next generation were taunted for being "foreign". Some of them had to move back a part of the way north.

Legyarh, the famous trader and warrior, was of that stock. Soon he amassed wealth, as he and his kinsmen monopolized much of the northern coast's trade. They were the traders, the internationalists of the coast, as they already belonged to several nations. They quickly rose in the ranks to the first place. This happened in the consecutive lives of three or four men of that same name, in the course of as many generations. Meanwhile the family spread to many tribes through a series of clever alliances based upon inter-marriage.

The rise of the Legyarh faction worried the older local families, who were losing some of their privileges to one who was a new-comer, a *parvenu*. As he had relatives among the five or six northern nations, he could travel wherever he pleased for his barter—a privilege not shared by others. And he was bold and ambitious. His rivals decided, therefore, in secret assembly, to check his rise through defeat and humiliation. They pooled their currency—large copper shields—and challenged him in a contest of wealth. A memorable event.

But Legyarh had wind of the affair in good time, as he had a finger in every pie, mostly through the marriage ties of his relatives. He secretly organized his kinsmen in several nations to

resist the attack. And he came out victorious, to the amazement of his rivals—whose means of obtaining information and gathering wealth were more limited. His wealth, as produced there, consisted of fourteen coppers, whereas they had only thirteen to boast of.

Legyarh was too shrewd not to utilize his victory to the utmost. He hired a Haida artist, who was a great carver, and in whose equipment were long ropes of the hide of killer-whales. He brought him to a high cliff near the mouth of the Nass, in a narrow channel, where every tribe coming in the spring for the candle-fish had to pass. There they contrived together a device whereby the artist was let down from the face of the cliff from above, and engraved a man's face surrounded by fourteen coppers, all of which he painted red. This was a telling commemoration of a fact, small in itself, but full of significance. It symbolized the southward drift of an important element of population and its rise to power over the indigenous occupants of the land and the coast.

That, in a word, is the whole history of the tribes of the north-western coast in so far as it can be unravelled. The fight in front of the Hudson's Bay Company's fort at Port Simpson, about 1850, was a belated survival as it were—an old quarrel between the Eagle clan of Port Simpson and some Haidas of Queen Charlotte Island as to whether the Haidas had a right to set foot on territory other than their own. But Legyarh, who opposed the northerners in their claim for a foothold in his home country, was also an intruder from the north, whose title went back only a few generations. In all the native traditions and reminiscences, the drift of northern nomads towards a warmer climate and the food troves of the coast and the south, is everywhere impressive and uniform. This I could prove, map and statistics in hand. Moreover, the movement southward was rapid. The struggle for the possession of food stations and privileges was renewed not only at every generation, but several times in a generation. And the invaders always came from the same sides—the north and the interior.

Within the last two centuries or so, a fairly complete change in population and in culture happened at every spot. There were, not so long ago, no totem-pole culture, no exogamic groups whose law was to marry outside the clan, no totemic emblems, in the very districts where these features are now the most typical. The change occurred almost wholly within historical times. Northern families pouring south in continued dribblings are responsible for it.

A peculiar thing—of interest mostly to linguists—is that, whereas the people using the various languages of the coast were fast drifting south, some being pushed, others wanting to come in, the languages themselves maintained their foothold on the same rivers, the same islands, or the same coastal strip. They did not bodily drift southward with the individual immigrants. New families and other clans came in; took up the prevailing language as a garment for themselves or the next generation; then moved out to a new home either preferred or forced upon them by necessity. It may easily be conceived how speedily a language changed under such a strain. New blood and stubborn habits forced the old moulds into new shapes, without smashing them altogether. I rather believe that the three dialects of a single language of the north-west coast—Tsimshyan—may have come into existence as distinct from each other within only a few generations. A new culture under such pressure grows at a rapid space. Scattered families from three different northern nations were pouring in at such a rate that at times they almost submerged some of the local tribes. It seems that the older Tsimshyan language became diversified into three dialects as a result of such foreign infusions.

The history of the Tsimshyans is full of significance in so far as it is typical. It has a bearing on that of other north-western tribes far and wide. Wherever tribes are to be found in the Alaskan peninsula or in British Columbia, the same processes are steadily at work. For instance: The Tlingit along the Alaskan coast were of mixed extraction, native no less than Athapascan of the northern interior. When Robert Campbell, a trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, first explored the Liard and the upper Stikine about 1840, he found that everywhere the Kutchins were invading the preserves of their southern kinsmen, the Tahltans, or the Tlingit.

Along the coast, the Queen Charlotte Islands, like the Nass and the Skeena, were deeply affected through migrations from the main coast, chiefly the Tlingit country to the north-east. Indeed, their northern division on Prince of Wales Island consisted of a heavy admixture of Tlingit blood. The district south of the Skeena River was repeatedly invaded by the Skeena tribes and the Tsimshyan of the coast. The Chilcotin further south are an Athapascan enclave pure and simple, from the northern interior. Farther south, on Vancouver Island, the Kwakiutl were at war with their southern neighbours, the Nootkas, whom they were

gradually displacing. The Nootkas likewise were driving their neighbours down the coast—a Salish nation—at the time when Captain Cook wintered among them in 1779. Similar waves of pressure were moving southwards along the Fraser.¹

The question is, Why did this happen? There must be a cause, perhaps a simple cause, for a phenomenon so strikingly uniform all over the north-western map. And the cause is obvious. Those Indians were prowling around for food, and they pounced upon it wherever they found it. Their country was cold and barren; they moved away from it into warmer climes and towards the treasure-chest of fish and fruit and game farther south.

When they landed upon the object of their quest they often stumbled upon other natives that tried to hold on to their privilege of first and only occupants. Perhaps repelled at first, the invaders came back. As they were only a handful—the sub-arctic regions could not feed an army—they had to fall back upon ingenuity to drive in a wedge somewhere. That is what they did, and the process is strikingly the same everywhere. During times of starvation they fell upon their opponents when they were asleep, before dawn. They killed the warriors and usually speared the others. But the next day they owned new stores of food, new hunting and fishing preserves; and these were always farther to the south or the south-west. The climate on the north-west coast was mild and balmy; the salmon and all kinds of fish, and the game, were incredibly plentiful. Nature was bounteous. It drew the tribes like a magnet. Everybody wanted to crowd in within the same preserves; and this brought invasions, warfare, the growth of population, the ramification of languages into dialects, ambitions, and an incentive for progress. All these are indeed dominant features in the ethnology of the north-west coast.

Another branch of the Athapascan nations, the largest, crossed the northernmost ranges of the Rockies and followed the rivers down to the Mackenzie, which empties into the Arctic Sea. They made its watershed their stamping ground, and they followed the game wherever they found it, around the great northern lakes, until they encountered the Eskimos of the Coppermine region and the Crees of the northern swamps. Much like their kinsmen of British Columbia, they are perhaps of a purer stock for the lack of as many neighbours to mix with. And they made friends with

¹A. G. Morice, "The great Déné race" (*Anthropos*, 1906, 483). The author speaks of the southward migrations of the Déné.

nobody. Native characteristics in consequence are much clearer. Or else, the Athapascans may represent a later migratory wave.

It is in the traditions of this group that we find the most explicit evidence of the direction those Indians had been following in their trek into America. The early explorers who observed them concluded that they were Asiatics, had crossed Bering on the ice, and had inhabited a country quite like that which they had left behind, and not much better, except that one was peopled and the other practically vacant. They had fled from powerful enemies that harassed them. But after moving into a new continent they found themselves deprived of metals, which was the common heritage of all Asia. Away from the sources of supplies through barter, they relapsed into the stone age without, however, forgetting their loss, which they bitterly regretted. "They had seen no more iron on this continent", is how Petitot puts it down, except for some which they found on a tributary of the Mackenzie and knew well how to fashion into awls and needles.¹

Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the discoverer of their country, nearly a hundred and fifty years ago, states that, in their own belief they had come from another large continent, and that their progress had always been eastwards. They had been the slaves of a wicked nation, and they had fled across a lake narrow and long dotted with islands, and frozen in the winter (Bering). Then they had found a river where they saw a shining metal on the ground (Copper River).² Sir John Franklin, about 1820, is as definite in his account of native recollections. The tribes of the Liard River of the Yukon had left behind, to the west, a summer-like country, where fruits ripened and trees were different from those they knew; and they had crossed the waters on their way.³ Father Petitot, a missionary for many years among them, in the 'sixties, and the best student of their history, devotes several chapters to the topic of their Siberian origin in the light of their traditions and customs, so that little doubt is left on that score. And he confirms his predecessors' views as to their Asiatic origin.

It would be a mistake to assume that this scattered nomadic nation crossed Bering in a single migration and grew while on this side from a small compact nucleus into its present ramifications—even though the language is fairly uniform throughout. In type

¹Petitot in *Monographie des Déné-Dindjé*, 52.

²Alexander Mackenzie, *A journey from Montreal to the Glacial and Pacific Oceans* (London, 1789-93), cxviii and 406.

³John Franklin, *Narrative of a journey to the shores of the Polar Sea* (London, 1819-22), 293.

the Athapascans are more diversified than in language, for they are far from homogeneous;¹ the Loucheux, for instance, were said by Petitot to resemble the Hindus, whereas others were like Mongols or Tartars or Samoyeds. In other words, they belong more distinctly to Asia than they do to America. But how long have they lived on this side of Bering, is another question that invites speculation.

It is not easy to come down to actual figures. Our knowledge embraces only about two centuries in the North-west and four in Mexico, and this is only a day in the history of mankind. Yet even in that short time, changes have taken place which cast a vivid light upon the last phase of pre-historic times. The north-west coast underwent a wholesale transformation during this period, under the impact of Athapaskan invasions. Left to themselves it is likely that in another century or so their horde, blended with the earlier occupants, would have moved southwards across the Columbia River. Their vanguard the Chilcotin, as it is, were driving a spearhead upon the Fraser, close to the present American border.

Another phase of this Siberian invasion of America is, indeed, quite startling. It also furnishes a date—the earliest on record—of the arrival of the Athapascans at a definite point. In their search for food, some of the advanced Athapaskan bands centuries ago chanced upon some buffalo herds. This food quarry was so much better than anything they had known in the north that it was to determine their future. The best-known among them are the Navahos and the Apaches of the south-west.

When first discovered the Navahos were still at what is now the Canadian border. At the present day they are typical herds-men of the south-western desert and their distinctive craft is the weaving of blankets and rugs. Both these features are new acquisitions, European and Mexican. But the Apaches—the apex of the Athapaskan thrust—were already at the Mexican border in the sixteenth century. They are first mentioned in 1541 by Coronado, which is an interesting date for us.² Bold and war-like, of the breed of the Tartars who had swept over Europe a

¹Petitot in *Monographie des Déné-Dindjé*, 28.

²A. F. Bandelier, *Indians of the southwestern United States*; quotation of Brinton's *American races*, 72; the date of 1541 is mentioned in *Handbook of American Indians* (Bureau of American Ethnology, bulletin 30), "Apaches", I, 63. The Navahos are mentioned by Juan de Oñate as having been encountered in 1598 (Juan de Oñate, *Treslado de la posesion que en nombre de su Magestad, año de 1598* in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, XVI, Madrid, 1871, 114).

thousand years before, the Apaches were bound to conquer the bounties of the promised land of the Corn Maiden to the south. Of this, not the least doubt.

Who was there to resist their invasion? The peaceful Pueblos or the timid cliff-dwellers were no match to them. And beyond, the Mexican villagers were not versed in the arts of war, but in agriculture and the pursuits of peace and stability. They were not prepared to resist invasions. Unlike the Tibetans, the Mexicans had not erected a Chinese wall. The kingdom of Montezuma was faced with the yellow peril no less, yet perhaps was unaware of it. The barbarian of the north was watching his chances and mustering his forces for an attack; and he might have overcome the Aztec dynasty without a blow. Perhaps his name alone would have caused consternation and swayed everyone into subservience, like that of Atila sweeping Europe and planning the conquest of Rome.

But the white man, the Spaniard, reached Mexico first and made it his own booty. He had stolen a march on the Apaches, and this closed the door forever to the native invader from the north. Yet Geronimo, their warlike leader three hundred years later, about 1880, had raided northern Mexico when he became a prisoner of state. For the white man's authority was not one that he could disregard.

What would have happened to the Mexicans in the absence of the Spanish, in the past three hundred years? An answer can only be wild conjecture, yet with more than a grain of probability. The Apaches, having overwhelmed the Mexican dynasty, would doubtless have spared the Mexican civilization for their own benefit. It was the very thing they admired and coveted, beggars as they were of the barren grounds. Instead of crushing it as the white man did, they would have respected it, as their kinsmen were doing in a different way on the north-west coast—the totem-pole culture being largely their creation. After a few generations, with new blood in their veins, they would have started for a new conquest of the Incas of Peru!

History repeats itself. The Aztecs had subdued the Mayas, and the Central Americans at least once before had daunted Peru. Beware the northerner, the barbarian, who comes in as a thief and, undaunted, sleeps with his boots in the bed of the princess, whose name is Culture!

MARIUS BARBEAU

RECIPROCITY AND THE GENESIS OF A CANADIAN COMMERCIAL POLICY

"UNLESS reciprocity of trade with the United States be established", Lord Elgin once declared, "these colonies must be lost to England."¹ For a decade after the signing of the Reciprocity Treaty, Elgin's dictum was tacitly accepted in Canada and the commercial policy of the government was characterized by an unquestioning dependence upon the United States. It is true that in 1859 the necessity of an increased revenue forced Galt into the imposition of differential duties; but he made no suggestion of attempting to substitute for the Reciprocity Treaty an independent Canadian policy.² Not until 1864 was the Canadian government compelled to face with certainty the impending termination of the American liaison.

Then out of a period of grave political and commercial unrest, of wars and rumours of wars, of changing values and shattered illusions arose the necessity of looking elsewhere for economic salvation. The period from December, 1864, to the following February marked the turning point in Canadian-American relations. The series of influences then converging upon the Canadian government was impressive. It was a combination of forces destined to produce at first despair but ultimately the evidences of a renewed courage. Canada entered the period in a state of economic semi-dependence upon the United States; she emerged from it shaken by adversity but in a growing spirit of self-reliance.

Since the outbreak of the Civil War the American issue had

¹Public Archives of Canada, *England, Miscellaneous, Letters of Lord Elgin, 1849*, III, Elgin to Grey, May 28, 1849.

²Galt did not, in 1859, propose to emancipate Canada from the need of commercial agreements with the United States or Great Britain. His chief motive was to increase a revenue which had diminished considerably since the depression of 1857. His secondary objects were incidental protection to Canadian manufactures and the diversion of trade to the St. Lawrence route by a particular application of the *ad valorem* principle. See O. D. Skelton, *The life and times of Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt* (Toronto, 1920), 267 ff. Galt's budget speech in 1866 proved conclusively that he was not a protectionist. It may be observed also that the Board of Trade sanctioned Galt's policy in 1859 for the professed reason of fiscal necessity, without, however, conceding the principle of protection. This was very different from the tone of mild admonition which Cardwell was content to assume in December, 1864. See Public Archives of Canada, *Series G*, vol. 162, Newcastle to Head, January 31, 1860, enclosures; *ibid.*, vol. 172, Cardwell to Monck, December 3, 1864.

become increasingly significant;¹ in 1864 it dominated the arena of Canadian politics. After a period of unfortunate incidents on the border, growing irritation between the two countries, and repeated threats from the American government, the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty became a practical certainty. Only decisive action could avert political and economic disaster.

Canada rose to the occasion: out of the ruins of 1864 was constructed the framework of a Canadian commercial policy tried and tempered in the fires of adversity.

BRITISH INTERVENTION REFUSED

The year 1864 had opened ominously. Recognition of the Confederacy as a belligerent had prejudiced northern opinion against Great Britain; depredations on American commerce by the *Alabama* and the *Florida* had increased the tension. Unfortunate local incidents such as the *Chesapeake* affair² and the abortive conspiracy against Johnson's Island³ had focused American resentment upon the British-American colonies. Alarming rumours prophesied the abrogation of the Rush-Bagot Convention.⁴ The *New York Tribune* on December 31, 1863, asserted: "No nation can consent to expose its borders as ours are exposed, unless in the belief that it is secure from invasion either attempted or permitted. Events show that we can no longer cherish such a belief."⁵ In such an atmosphere the Reciprocity Treaty could not escape discussion; resolutions for its abrogation were intro-

¹The *Trent* affair left in its wake a feeling of apprehension in Canada which was easily roused to fever heat in the crisis of 1864 and 1865.

²An American vessel seized by Confederate conspirators and later abandoned in the harbour of Sambro, N.S., where she was destroyed by two federalist gun-boats under Commander Clarey who convoyed her to Halifax. Much bad feeling was created by the alleged violation of Canadian neutrality on the part of the American gun-boats and by the subsequent failure of the Canadian authorities to satisfy the demands of the American government for prosecution of the conspirators and for surrender of the vessel to her owners by executive decree. See *Papers relating to foreign affairs*, accompanying the annual message of the president to the 2nd. session of the 38th. Congress, part I (Washington, 1865).

³An expedition was organized in July and August, 1863, by Confederate soldiers and sailors to attack Johnson's Island in Lake Erie from Canada West and liberate Confederate prisoners. The attempt failed because of information supplied to the American authorities by Lord Monck. See *Papers relating to foreign affairs*, Seward to Adams, no. 789, December 20, 1863, enclosures, and G, vol. 214, Monck to Newcastle, November 19, 1863.

⁴*Ibid.*, vol. 171, Newcastle to Monck, February 4, 1864, enclosing Lyons to Russell [copy], January 12, 1864. After describing the concern excited by the *Chesapeake* and Johnson's Island incidents, Lyons added: "Among other subjects which have in consequence been discussed is that of the arrangement of 1817 with Great Britain limiting the number of armed vessels to be maintained on the lakes."

⁵*Ibid.*, extract from the *New York Tribune*, December 31, 1863, enclosed in Lyons to Russell.

duced in the House of Representatives on December 14, 1863, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Despite the independence of their attitude toward the question of defence, the Sandfield Macdonald-Dorion ministry turned in alarm to the British government at this menace to the prosperity of Canada. After an unsuccessful attempt to enlist the services of George Brown as unofficial agent at Washington,¹ the ministry passed a minute-of-council which afforded conclusive evidence of the apprehensions aroused by the threatened danger. Lord Monck was requested to inform the British government that the recent proceedings in Congress had "excited the deepest concern in the minds of the people of this Province" and that, in reference to the treaty, there was "imminent danger of its speedy abrogation, unless prompt and vigorous steps be taken by Her Majesty's Imperial Advisers to avert what would be generally . . . regarded by the people of Canada as a great calamity". The Committee of Council pointed out

the importance of instituting negotiations for the renewal of the Treaty, with such modifications as may be mutually assented to, before the year's notice required for terminating it shall be given by the American Government, for they fear that the notice, if once given, would not be revoked, and they clearly foresee that owing to the variety, and possibly the conflicting nature of the interests involved on our own side, a new treaty could not be concluded and the necessary legislation to give effect to it be obtained before the year would have expired, and with it the Treaty.²

This appeal was substantially repeated by the Taché-Macdonald government on the day after they took office.³

But the British government was weighed in the balance and found wanting. Canada asked for commercial bread and was given a diplomatic stone. Formerly Canadians had regarded the home government as an earthly providence. Now, intent upon a foreign policy which was highly objectionable to the American government, the British authorities were powerless to salvage the cause of reciprocity. Early in 1864, Mr. Adams, the American ambassador at the court of St. James, was instructed to inform Earl Russell that the British interpretation of neutrality must inevitably jeopardize the Reciprocity Treaty. Earl Russell

¹Alexander Mackenzie, *The life and speeches of Hon. George Brown* (Toronto, 1882), 83ff.

²Public Archives, *Series E*, state book Z, Minute of Executive Council, February 19, 1864.

³*Ibid.*, Minute of Executive Council, March 31, 1864.

politely expressed his regret that nothing could be done about it.¹ Similar advice was returned to the Canadian government. What must have been their chagrin to learn that her majesty's government, upon the advice of Lord Lyons, had decided to adopt a policy of watchful waiting? "Under these circumstances", Lord Monck was informed, "it appears to Mr. Cardwell that at the present moment *the attitude of observation* is that which is most prudent to preserve, in the hope that the Resolution may not be passed by both Houses, which Lord Lyons says is not impossible."² In the face of certain abrogation of the treaty the British government adhered to this policy and the fatal resolutions were passed without a word from the Foreign Office. As late as February 17, 1865, no correspondence on the subject had been interchanged between the British and American governments.³

The British policy may conceivably be either justified or condemned. But there can be no doubt of its effect on the temper of the Canadian government. Only despair could follow the realization that, as Watkin declared, "no effort whatsoever had been made [by her majesty's government] to preserve the treaty . . . by negotiations at Washington"⁴.

OPPOSITION FROM WASHINGTON

In the face of an irritation along the frontier, which grew daily more aggravated, the attitude of the American executive was not reassuring. Seward, the secretary of state, accepted Canadian preventive measures as a matter of course, hailed every rumour of Confederate activity in Canada as an impending catastrophe, and treated with the most extreme concern the two demonstrations which eluded the vigilance of the Canadian government.⁵

Adams's note to Russell on February 12, 1864, is an accurate representation of the tone assumed by the Department of State, *i.e.*, Seward, throughout the war. Adams commenced by professing extreme pleasure at the measures taken by the Canadian government to prevent incursions into the United States. He then proceeded:

¹*Papers relating to foreign affairs*, Adams to Seward, no. 584, January 28, 1864, and no. 606, February 26, 1864. Russell "could say no more than that he regretted such a consequence, at the same time that he saw no present way of avoiding it".

²*G.*, vol. 172, Cardwell to Monck, May 7, 1864.

³*Hansard*, 3rd series, CLXXVII, 414.

⁴*Ibid.*, 411.

⁵The second unsuccessful conspiracy against Johnson's Island and the St. Alban's Raid. The former occurred in September, 1864, and resulted in the destruction of two American vessels, the *Parsons* and the *Island Queen*.

It gives me great regret to be compelled to believe that the projects of carrying on hostile operations from one or more points along those lines have not yet been abandoned, and that considerable numbers of men are actually concentrating in Canada with a view to make an attack on some unprotected spot. Considering the danger of the complications to which even a casual and temporary success might lead, I trust I may be pardoned for recurring once more to the subject.¹

During the war Seward was constantly being informed from various sources, official and otherwise, of projected raids upon the United States from Canadian soil. One obliging soul, D. Campbell McNab, a school-teacher in Richmond, Canada West, offered to supply full particulars of a raid from Prescott in exchange for an M.A. degree from "Yale College".² Rumours of this nature increased in number and intensity during 1864 and the first half of 1865. In each instance Seward notified the British legation with suitable expressions of concern. Invariably investigations were made in Canada, the rumours declared false, and messages of gratitude conveyed from Seward to Lord Monck. It may be added that throughout this very difficult period the Canadian government made every effort to preserve amicable relations with the United States. Lord Monck treated each representation from Seward with extreme solicitude. Apprised by Seward of a rumoured conspiracy in Prince Edward County, Monck agreed to investigate, with the declared intention of using "all legal means to put an end to the practice".³ With reference to alleged preparations for an invasion from Canadian territory near Windsor, Monck promised his anxious attention "with a view to prevent any violation of the Neutrality of Her Majesty's Dominions".⁴

Toward the end of 1864 the Canadian government took strenuous, if belated, preventive measures. After the second Johnson's Island fiasco, Monck ordered the Canadian officers of justice "to use every exertion in their power for the detection and arrest of those persons concerned in the transaction alluded to if it should be found that they had sought asylum in Canadian soil".⁵ On November 22 he issued a proclamation forbidding "the exportation from this Province of warlike stores or munitions of war".⁶ On December 16 the Committee of Council endorsed two reports from

¹G., vol. 171, Newcastle to Monck, February 23, 1864, enclosure.

²*Ibid.*, vol. 235, Burnley to Monck, March 22, 1865, enclosures.

³*Ibid.*, vol. 234, Monck to Lyons, December 6, 1864.

⁴*Ibid.*, Monck to Burnley, December 12, 1864.

⁵*Ibid.*, Monck to Lyons, September 26, 1864.

⁶*Ibid.*, vol. 216, Monck to Cardwell, November 25, 1864.

the attorney-general recommending "the immediate organization of a militia force on the frontier to aid the civil power" and the appointment of stipendiary magistrates to enforce the law in the border counties.¹ By December 20 these recommendations had been put into execution.²

Yet Seward's irritation steadily increased. After the St. Alban's Raid it rose to fever heat, and, despite Monck's frantic attempts to satisfy the American government, Seward made the bitter charge: "While this government has been considering Earl Monck's request our requisitions for the offenders whose crimes were committed on Lake Erie and for the burglars and murderers who invaded Vermont remain unanswered."³ An incident in London provided striking evidence of Seward's exasperation. Adams, after "positive instructions" from Seward, sought an interview with Earl Russell in reference to "the border raids which had been executed, or were in preparation from Canada". Adams then presented copies of a budget of intercepted Confederate despatches purporting to reveal the presence in Canada of numerous conspirators against the United States. Most significantly of all, he endorsed the action of General Dix who had instructed military commanders on the frontier, in case of further depredations from Canada, to shoot down the perpetrators or "if necessary for their capture to cross the Canadian boundaries and pursue them wheresoever they take refuge".⁴

Co-operation in maintaining the treaty was not to be expected from a government whose accredited representative could sanction a flagrant violation of Canadian neutrality. The crisis was reached in the period between December, 1864, and February, 1865. Unchecked by either the British or the American governments, events seemed to be rushing madly toward a catastrophe. A series of blows fell in quick succession, threatening the cause of reciprocity and presaging even more serious consequences. On November 23, Earl Russell had received formal notification that the American government intended to terminate the Rush-Bagot Convention.⁵ On December 6, President Lincoln, albeit in measured and dispassionate words, announced this decision to Congress. He declared also that, in the reconsideration of the Reciprocity

¹*Ibid.*, Monck to Cardwell, December 17, 1864, enclosures.

²*Ibid.*, volume 234, Monck to Burnley, December 20, 1864.

³*Ibid.*, Monck to Lyons, November 12, 1864.

⁴*Ibid.*, vol. 172, Cardwell to Monck, December 31, 1864, enclosure. Dix's order was subsequently disavowed by the American government.

⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 174, Cardwell to Monck, June 10, 1865, enclosure.

Treaty and the Bonding Act, "the condition of the border" must be taken into account.¹ One week later, in the midst of the storm which followed the St. Alban's Raid, resolutions for abrogating the Reciprocity Treaty were passed in the House of Representatives. On December 17 the American government imposed a rigid passport regulation on all immigration into the country except by sea. It was frankly admitted that "this regulation is intended to apply especially to persons proposing to come to the United States from the neighbouring British Provinces."²

The senate, after the most perfunctory consideration, on January 12 endorsed the resolution for abrogating the Reciprocity Treaty and on the 18th Lincoln approved it. At the end of January, in order to provide an American substitute for the Welland Canal, the House of Representatives passed a bill "for the construction of a Canal and Marine Railway round the Falls of Niagara".³ The final blow came in February: Her majesty's government was informed that Congress had confirmed the action of the executive by a joint resolution for the termination of the Rush-Bagot Convention.⁴

Both the executive and legislative branches of the American government had now given conclusive and repeated proof of their hostility toward Canada. Severance of economic relations was only a matter of time; even war did not seem an impossibility.

CHANGED TEMPER OF THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT

By February, 1865, the future of the Reciprocity Treaty depended solely on the Canadian government. Direct intervention at Washington could not be anticipated from the British government which, although sympathetic, was hopelessly compromised by the implications of its foreign policy.⁵ Confronted by a state of affairs on the frontier which grew daily more alarming, menaced by an accusing American executive, the Canadians were faced with the alternatives of giving up in despair or of acting upon their own initiative. They elected to adopt the latter course.

¹*Message from the president of the United States to the two Houses of Congress, at the commencement of the second session of the thirty-eighth Congress* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1864).

²*G.*, vol. 234, Burnley to Monck, December 17, 1864, enclosure.

³*Ibid.*, vol. 173, Cardwell to Monck, March 1, 1865, enclosure.

⁴*Ibid.*, Cardwell to Monck, February 18, 1865.

⁵The British government had already, of course, given its *imprimatur* to the cause of Confederation as the solution to the military, political, and commercial problems in British North America.

In 1865 the coalition cabinet met the question of reciprocity with a growing resourcefulness in striking contrast to the helplessness of the two preceding ministries. The coalition government showed a new initiative; a capacity for vigorous, independent action; an increased desire for closer economic co-operation with the Maritime Provinces;¹ and an ability to face with equanimity the possibility of abrogation. Reciprocity with the United States was infinitely desirable; if it could not be maintained, however, other expedients must be adopted. In a field of doubt and uncertainty, the seeds of a national policy, already sown, germinated and took root.

The crisis of 1864 and 1865 was a prime factor in this change of front. It was not by any means the only factor: undoubtedly the temper of the Canadian government was immeasurably strengthened by the expectation or at least the hope that a political union of the British provinces was soon to be effected. The prospect of abrogation became much less alarming after the Quebec Conference in October, 1864. The effect can be seen in the willingness of the Canadian government to postpone a discussion of the treaty for the very good reason that

in view . . . of the proposed Confederation of the British North American Provinces probably taking place at an early day it would appear most desirable to refer, if possible, any legislative arrangements with the United States to the Legislature of the Confederate Provinces, especially as the earliest duty of that body will be to revise and assimilate the existing separate systems of Finance and Trade now existing in each—thus affording the most favourable opportunity for the consideration of any proposals of the American Government relating to Trade and Revenue.²

The influence of Confederation on the movement for reciprocity may be taken for granted. On the other hand, the necessity of dealing with the problem of reciprocity was a compelling incentive to Confederation. The political and commercial developments of this period are really parallel and inter-reacting movements. Both derived impetus from a common source. Deadlock was not the

¹The movement toward intercolonial economic union had made steady progress since 1846. In September, 1862, the representatives from Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, who had met at Quebec to discuss the project for an Intercolonial Railway, passed resolutions declaring that intercolonial free trade must inevitably accompany the construction of an Intercolonial Railway. Reciprocity with the United States had diverted both public and official attention from the intercolonial commercial movement; but, when the treaty was abrogated, the British-American colonies were able to turn to this alternative policy.

²Public Archives of Canada, *Macdonald papers*, Reciprocity 1865-1866, Minute of Executive Council, December 22, 1865.

only father of Confederation. The crisis of 1864 had a prodigious influence on the movement toward union; it was also the dynamic which drove Canada away from reciprocity.

Evidence of this changing attitude toward reciprocity was afforded by the Canadian delegation who were despatched to England in March, 1865. The delegates urged the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty; yet they regarded the possibility of its abrogation with anything but despair. "We explained", read their report, "the immediate injury that would result to Canadian interests from the abrogation of the Treaty; but *we pointed out at the same time the new and ultimately more profitable channels into which our foreign trade must, in that event, be turned, and the necessity of preparing for the change if indeed it was to come.*"¹

The Confederate Council of September, 1865, was a milestone on the road to political and commercial federation. As the first demonstration of the federal principle in actual practice, it marked an advance toward Confederation. It afforded further evidence of the growing disposition, on the part of the provinces under the leadership of Canada, to co-operate in an effort to obtain the admission of their products to foreign markets. The original proposal came from Earl Russell who intimated to the Colonial Office that much difficulty would be avoided "if the faculty of giving an opinion to Her Majesty's Government in the negotiation of Commercial Treaties were vested in a Confederate Council chosen by all the North American Provinces and presided over by the Governor-General of Canada".² His suggestion was enthusiastically taken up by the Canadian government on whose recommendation the council was forthwith convened by Lord Monck, at Ottawa.³

The seven resolutions adopted by the council contained the germs of a common, far-reaching commercial policy for the British-American provinces. Five resolutions dealt with the proposed negotiation for a renewal of the treaty, and were not of special significance except in so far as they showed a new vigour in meeting the situation. But of the other two, one laid down the method of procedure to be followed in the future when "in the event of the abolition of the Treaty by the United States Government . . . all the British North American Provinces should combine cordially together in all commercial matters, and adopt such a common

¹E, State book AB, Minute of Executive Council, August 14, 1865.

²*Ibid.*, Proceedings in council, January-December, 1865, Trade, Cardwell to Monck [copy], July 22, 1865, enclosure.

³*Ibid.*, State book AB, Minute of Executive Council, August 4, 1865.

commercial policy as will best advance the interests of the whole."¹ The other suggested a particular field of activity in which the "common commercial policy" could be utilized to advantage: by reciprocal concessions, trade was to be fostered between the British provinces and the West Indies, the Spanish colonies, Mexico, and Brazil.

The council had not only enunciated a general principle—co-operation amongst the colonies in matters of commerce; they had outlined a constructive policy by means of which that principle could be put into practice. Reciprocity was to be maintained and extended despite the loss of the American market. The Canadian government did not confine itself to a mere assertion of policy. Steps had already been taken to reach a working arrangement with the American government. Apprised by Cardwell that negotiations were to be opened at Washington, the Cabinet had immediately, on July 15, despatched Galt and Howland to confer with Sir Frederick Bruce, the British ambassador.² Their good offices, however, proved of little avail.

In accordance with the recommendations of the Confederate Council, a new policy was now inaugurated to secure fresh and adequate markets for Canadian produce: commissioners were appointed in November, 1865, to investigate the possibility of fiscal reductions between Canada and the various countries named in the resolution of the council.³ This was a decided step forward even though the commission achieved no practical result. In December, Galt and Howland were again appointed as delegates to secure an extension of the Reciprocity Treaty pending further negotiations. The principle of co-operation amongst the colonies was strictly observed and the several provincial governments were invited by Sir Narcisse Belleau, then premier of Canada, to appoint representatives to accompany the Canadian delegates.⁴ The conference of January and February, 1866, with the Committee of Ways and Means, demonstrated conclusively that the age of Cana-

¹*Macdonald papers*, Reciprocity, 1865-1866, Minutes of the proceedings of the Confederate Council of the British North American colonies.

²E, State book AB, Minute of Executive Council, July 15, 1865.

³*Ibid.*, State book AC, Minute of Executive Council, November 18, 1865. On the advice of the British government, the other British North American colonies were invited to send representatives on the delegation. For Galt's instructions to the Canadian delegates see State book AC, Minute of Executive Council, March 6, 1866. They were informed "that the Government would be prepared to recommend to Parliament the reduction or even the abolition of any Customs Duties now levied on the productions of these Countries if corresponding favor were shewn to the staples of British North America in their markets".

⁴*Macdonald papers*, Reciprocity 1865-1866, telegram [copy], Sir N. F. Belleau to Tupper, Smith, Shea, and Pope, December 20, 1865.

dian sycophancy was past. Although conciliatory to a degree, the British-American delegates were not determined to reach an agreement at all costs. When the American terms proved highly unfavourable to the provinces,¹ Galt did not hesitate to inform Morrill, the chairman of the American committee: "I am afraid, sir, there is such a difference between your views and ours that to discuss these points further would be needlessly to occupy your time."

Galt's sturdy independence indicated the newly-developed self-reliance of the Canadian government and presaged Macdonald's subsequent decision to "go it alone". Galt asserted to the Americans:

We shall probably make such concessions to other countries as we were prepared to make first to you—our best neighbours. We shall tell our people that the market of the United States is practically shut. We shall direct their attention to the supply of the Lower Provinces with flour and breadstuffs, and shall endeavour to find in the West Indies and the Mediterranean a market for our lumber and fish.²

Such words mark the close of an era of colonial dependence and herald the dawn of a day of broader vision and greater national self-sufficiency. Canada had progressed far since February of 1864. Then she was in a state of servile dependence upon every caprice of the American government, capable only "of looking everywhere for salvation but at home". Now upon the doorstep of Confederation she abandoned the American liaison with regret but looked forward in Galt's prophetic words, to "the establishment of a separate and distinct nationality".

DONALD C. MASTERS

¹The free list was to be reduced to burr mill-stones, unwrought; cotton and linen rags; firewood; grindstones, rough or unfinished; gypsum or plaster, unground.

²*Macdonald papers*, Reciprocity 1865-1866, Report of the conferences between the colonial delegation and Committee of Ways and Means of the House of Representatives.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

DIARY OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL ROBERT D. ROGERS

Colonel Robert D. Rogers, of a well-known Loyalist family, was born in Haldimand Township, Ontario, in the year 1809. He settled on a farm in 1834 and in 1842 he came to the village of Ashburnham, now East City, Peterborough, Ontario, where he erected flour and saw-mills and opened a store. At the time of the Mackenzie outbreak he was one of the band of men who cut out the steamer *Caroline* and sent the vessel down the river. In 1862 he organized the Ashburnham Company of Volunteers and in 1866, after the Fenian Raid, he was presented with a handsome sword. He held a commission as colonel in the reserve militia. He was among the first justices of the peace appointed in the Newcastle district and he was a member of the county council for many years as well as being warden of the county and first reeve of Ashburnham. He died on February 17, 1885¹.

The fragment of the diary printed herewith has been presented to the Public Library of Peterborough, Ontario, by Mr. Claude Rogers of Peterborough, a grandson of Colonel Robert Rogers. The extract was torn from the original whole by one of Colonel Rogers's sons and was preserved on account of the historical interest which it possessed for his descendants. It is especially interesting in that it throws light on the movements of the militia at the time of the Rebellion of 1837 and contains first-hand evidence of the cutting out of the *Caroline*. The rest of the diary presumably was thrown away.

F. M. DE LA FOÏSE

EXTRACT FROM THE DIARY OF THE LATE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL ROBERT D. ROGERS

Cobourg Rifle Corps

Marched from Cobourg 7th Decr 1837 at 11 o'clock, A.M. to Delaree's Inn in Hope 13 miles

8th Marched to Bowmanville 16 miles took 7 prisoners.

9th Marched to Mr. Lee's in Pickering 20 miles took Dr Hunter and some others prisoners on the way.

¹These notes are collated from F. H. Dobbin's "History of Peterborough", derived from the newspapers of Peterborough, Ontario, and published in typewritten form in 1914.

- 10th Marched into Toronto 34 miles it snowed fast all the fore part of the day
- 11th Went on Board the Steam Boat Brittanic. Sailed in the evening for Niagara. Staid on Board all night. Breakfasted in Niagra.
- 12th and afterwards proceeded to Queenston in the boat. Marched to Chippewa in the evening
- 13th Marched to Waterloo. Turned out at 11 o'clock in consequence of an alarm of an attack from Black Rock. Marched up and down a short time no attack great noise & Beating of Drums at Black Rock all night. Staid at Waterloo till Sunday the
- 17th Marched at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 o'clock p.m. for Chippewa it rained hard most of the way arrived at Chippewa cold and wet no quarters provided.
- 18th Quartered in the Methodist Chapel Staid quietly till Friday night 12 o'clock turned out and marched up the river 3 miles kept guard and patrolled till morning ret'd to Quarters.
- 24th Sunday evening 9 o'clock marched up the river $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles kept sentries till morning ret'd to Quarters
- 25th Christmas. Toronto Volunteers arrived at the falls. the St Catharines ladies sent a lot of pies for the Volunteer Compys
- 27th Finlaison & I went in a Boat with Capt. Drew to reconnoitre
- 29th Went in Boats to cut out the Steam Boat Caroline, found her moored at a wharf & Storehouse at Schlosser set fire to her & sent her adrift down the river towards the falls.
- 31st Volunteered to serve under Mr. Elmsley in the Boats and on Board a Scow.
- Jan 1st Towed the Scow up the Canal and River and fired a few shots out of the 24 pounder.
- 2d Went up the river to Black Creek in the Boats 8 miles Slept on the floor without cloaks or blankets.
- 3d Shipped on Board the Schooner "Queen" Alias John E Hunt kept on the alert the whole night
- 4th Got a Brass 12 pounder on Board dropped down the river 4 miles.
- 5th Very windy dragged our anchors cannonading from the shore.
- 6th A pleasant day cannonading cont'd
- 7th Went to Chippewa in the Boat with Mr. Elmsley ret'd in the rain after 10 o'clock
- 18th Went on Board the Steamer St. George about 10 o'clock P.M.
- 19th Arrived at Cobourg about 12 o'clock Dispersed to our homes.

Robt D Rogers

Jan. 19th 1838

THE GROWTH OF CANADA'S POPULATION IN RECENT YEARS

THE difficulty of arriving at accurate statistical conclusions with respect to emigration from, and immigration into, Canada lends significance to every serious study touching upon the subject. Especially is this the case in view of the fact that we appear to have come to the end of a chapter in the history of migration movements. The restrictions on immigration which have been imposed since the war by so many countries whose gates had previously been open mark the end of one period and the beginning of another. Canada has shared in the general policy of encouraging emigration and in the more recent one of restriction, and it is of importance that the history of Canadian immigration and emigration be studied not only for itself but in relation to the world-wide movement. The two volumes on *International migrations* are a valuable contribution to the subject.¹ The first, published in 1929, contained statistics of the chief migration movements occurring during the century or so preceding the year 1925. The later volume is concerned with clothing these figures with significance. Generally speaking it attains its object and one may turn to it for explanations of the causes of migrations, of their variations from year to year, and so on. My sole note of criticism, and that, given the type of work, perhaps not strictly allowable, would be that the tendency seems to be to adhere very closely to a statistical and tabular method of interpretation and rather to avoid discussion of the more important social phenomena which lie behind the figures.

The chapters more directly of interest to Canadians are those on "Immigration into the United States", on "Canada", on "Emigration from Great Britain" and on "Irish emigration". Most of the chapters on European countries also have reference to Canada, but they are brief and not much more than footnotes to the study of emigration to the United States. There is a chapter on Japanese migration but none on Chinese, a serious omission in a book purporting to give a picture of the world's population movements as a whole.

Mr. Snow's essay on emigration from Great Britain is merely a résumé of familiar works or familiar reports, mainly, in so far as it relates to Canada, of S. C. Johnston's *History of emigration*

¹Walter F. Willcox, *International migrations*. Volume II: *Interpretations*. By a group of scholars in different countries, edited on behalf of the National Bureau of Economic Research. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research. 1931. Pp. 715. (\$7.00).

from the *United Kingdom*. In its historical aspect it is decidedly weak.

Mr. R. H. Coat's chapter on Canada displays the usual emphasis on policy, in contradistinction to the American interest in statistical analysis. It gives a brief historical outline, including some new calculations of the relationship between immigration and the growth of population in the period prior to Confederation, a trial balance of immigration, emigration, and natural increase from 1861 to 1921 (the figures for the first decade are not understandable), and then some comment on such topics as immigration and naturalization, illiteracy, crime, intermarriage, urbanization, *etc.*, which are familiar matters to Canadians. Unfortunately, a valuable chapter ends with a generalization of a most unscientific nature: "At what pace will the Canadian population increase? A gain of 2,500,000 or 3,000,000 in the next decade would meet the requirements just mentioned [that is, lightening of the tax-burden, *etc.*]. Not more than half of this can normally come from natural increase. An immigration, therefore of 200,000 a year would assure Canadian prosperity. Two hundred and fifty thousand would spell 'boom'." This is surely an out-worn doctrine. Is it not far more reasonable to argue that Canada cannot by taking thought (or spending money on immigration) add one cubit to her stature? I trust numerous off-prints of the article by Mr. Roland Wilson in the issue of the *CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* of June last have gone to those who influence or shape Canadian policy.

As a matter of fact, both the balances of Mr. Coats and Mr. Wilson point in the same direction: the inability of Canada to retain more than a comparatively small portion of the immigrants coming to her—and, if certain allowances be made, there is a not unsubstantial measure of agreement between them. For the period 1871-1921, Mr. Coats estimates 5,126,726 immigrants and 3,914,668 emigrants, a net immigration of 1,212,058. For the same period Mr. Wilson's figures are 5,280,352 and 5,464,434—net emigration 184,082. But Mr. Wilson has obviously gone very far astray for the decade 1881-1891, for which years there is no record of immigration and emigration (as distinct from the movement of people) over the inland border. Thus he gives the net emigration from Canada during this decade as 893,595. Since the population increased by 508,423, this would mean that there was a natural increase of 1,402,024, or something like thirty-two and one-half per cent., which is very improbable.

Mr. Coats's figures are probably very much more accurate, giving the natural increase as about twelve and one-half per cent. In view of this one cannot accept his figure for natural increase in the preceding decade, 1871-1881, 923,077, or a rate of about twenty-two and one-half per cent. But leaving out the decade 1881-1891, there remains enough similarity between the two sets of figures to show what has been happening in the last sixty years, and that is quite clearly the loss of the vast majority of immigrants who come to Canada, or of their equivalent in Canadian born. It is only since the turn of the century that the balance has been favourable and it has not been greatly favourable even since then. Thus according to Mr. Coats, Canada gained from 1901 to 1921, by immigration 1,412,943 persons, according to Mr. Wilson, 1,238,995.

I would criticize Mr. Wilson for not having taken more account of the factor of natural increase in preparing his figures and of the census generally, and Mr. Coats for failing to grasp the drift of his own calculations and apparently hoping to see the laws of growth suddenly repealed in the next ten years.

While on the subject, it may not be without interest to carry the computation down to 1931, which the recent census now permits.

Canada's population in 1921 was 8,787,949 and in 1931, 10,374,196, an increase of 1,586,247. During the ten years, there was, according to the returns of vital statistics, a surplus of births over deaths of 1,332,178. (I take half of the surplus of 1921, and half of the estimated figures for 1931, in order to bring these years into correspondence with the census figures.) The "natural" population in 1931 would then have been the population of 1921 plus the surplus of births over deaths—that is, 10,120,127. During the same period, immigration was 1,232,381. Added to the "natural" population, this gives a total of 11,352,445, a figure too great by 978,249. This latter figure represents the wastage of population by emigration, both of immigrants and of native born. The net emigration of the native-born can easily be estimated from the American census returns. In 1921, there were 307,786 French-Canadian born residents in the United States and in 1931, 370,801, an increase of 63,015. For "other Canadians" the returns give 810,092 and 907,569, an increase of 97,477. The death-rate in the American registration area, 1921-1930, averaged 11.8. I assume a death-rate among French Canadians of 14 per thousand and among other Canadians of

12 per thousand (though some variation in these rates will make little difference). This gives 47,853 deaths among French Canadians and 103,553 among other Canadians. To overcome deaths and increase to the numbers given above would require a net immigration into the United States of 311,898.

How many native-born Canadians went elsewhere in the ten years cannot be determined but probably not many did. At least the figures in *International migrations* for American-born residents of Sweden and certain other countries (which would represent the children of returned Swedish or other emigrants) are trifling, so that we can safely assume that Canada's are also. But to allow for Canadian-born children of returned emigrants to Great Britain, who may be more numerous,¹ I assume twenty-five thousand native born to have emigrated elsewhere than to the United States, making a total emigration of native born for the decade of 336,898. Subtracting this figure from 978,249 leaves 641,351 as the number of immigrants whom Canada lost from a total of 1,232,318, or over fifty per cent. Putting the matter in another way 1,233,795 immigrants entered Canada and 978,249 emigrants left it, a net gain from immigration of 254,069. Once more has the immigration mountain laboured and brought forth its mouse.

A. R. M. LOWER

TABLE 1. Summary of balance of population, 1871-1921, according to (a) Coats, (b) Wilson

Decade	Coats			Wilson		
	Immigration	Emigration	Balance	Immigration	Emigration	Balance
1871-81	342,675	426,703	-84,028	408,656	644,905	-236,249
1881-91	886,177	922,418	-36,241	942,112	1,835,707	-893,595
1891-01	321,302	401,918	-80,616	331,441	624,674	-293,233
1901-11	1,847,651	865,889	981,762	1,760,953	1,012,118	748,835
1911-21	1,728,921	1,297,740	431,181	1,837,190	1,347,030	490,160
	5,126,726	3,914,668	1,212,058	5,280,352	5,464,434	-184,082
Excepting 1881-91	4,240,549	2,992,250	1,248,299	4,338,240	3,628,727	709,513

¹I have not had access to the British census which would determine this point.

TABLE 2. Balance of Population, 1921-1931

Year	Population	Natural Increase	Immigration	Emigration to U.S. ¹
1921	8,787,949	78,000 ²	89,000 ³	46,810
1922		150,084	72,887	117,011
1923		135,146	148,560	200,690
1924		145,972	111,362	100,895
1925		143,611	96,064	91,019
1926		125,296	143,611	81,506
1927		128,469	151,600	73,154
1928		127,700	167,723	64,440
1929		121,900	163,288	63,502
1930		118,000 ²	88,223	21,687
1931	10,374,196	58,000 ^{2,2}		
	1,586,247	1,332,178	1,232,318	860,714
	Total Immigr'n	1,232,318		
	Popn, 1921	8,787,949	Total emigration.....	978,249
			Canadian-born emigration....	336,898
		11,352,445	Re-emigration.....	641,351
	Popn, 1931	10,374,196	Total immigration.....	1,232,318
	"Wastage".....	978,249	Total emigration.....	978,249
			Net immigration.....	254,069

TABLE 3. Number of Canadian born in United States by years, 1920-1930 (assuming increase to have been evenly distributed year by year)

Average U.S. Death-rate—1921-1930: 11.8 per 1,000

	French	Deaths Rate 14	Rate 12	Others	Deaths Rate 12	Rate 10
1920	307,786			810,092		
1921	314,092	4,397		819,839	9,838	
1922	320,399	4,406		828,587	9,943	
1923	326,705	4,574		838,334	10,060	
1924	333,012	4,662		848,082	10,177	
1925	339,018	4,747		857,929	10,295	
1926	345,625	4,828		867,677	10,412	
1927	351,981	4,928		877,424	10,529	
1928	358,288	5,016		887,172	10,646	
1929	364,594	5,104		896,919	10,762	
1930	370,801	5,191		907,569	10,891	
	63,015	47,853	41,103	97,477	103,553	86,284
	97,477	103,553	86,284			
	160,492	151,406	127,387			
		160,492	160,492			

Total emigration to
U.S. 311,898 287,879

If instead of assuming death rates of 14 and 12, we take 12 and 10, the figures become: Total emigration to United States of Canadian born, 287,879. Total Canadian-born emigration, 312,879. Total "wastage", 978,249. Immigrants who re-emigrated: 978,249—312,879=665,370. Immigrants retained, 566,948 or 45.9 per cent. of total entering.

¹American returns for year beginning July 1. Note close correspondence between total and total Canadian "wastage".

²One-half of total natural increase for 1921 and for 1931. 1930 and 1931 estimated from tendencies of preceding years.

³Fiscal year, giving a close approximation to inter-censal period.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

- The Pioneer Fringe.* By ISAIAH BOWMAN. (American Geographical Society, special publication no. 13. Edited by G. M. WRIGLEY.) New York: American Geographical Society. 1931. Pp. ix, 361.
- Pioneer Settlement: Cooperative Studies by Twenty-six Authors.* (American Geographical Society, special publication no. 14. Edited by W. L. G. JOERG.) New York: American Geographical Society. 1932. Pp. vi, 473.

THE science of settlement may not yet have won a place among the social sciences. It has at least provided a common meeting ground for the physical and biological scientists and the students of sociology and human affairs, and in so doing it is, in our judgment, significant of a new day in co-operative enterprise in research. Pioneering has had its tragedy as well as its romance. It has often been costly, ineffective, and unjustifiable. It has frequently spelt broken fortunes and broken lives. There is still much land to be pioneered. It is in order that there be better guidance for the future than there has been in the past that these volumes have been written.

Behind the volumes there is a plan for which Dr. Bowman is primarily responsible, and which has elicited the co-operation of the National Research Council and the American Geographical Society, and has obtained the financial support of the Social Science Research Council in New York. A careful study is being made of a typical pioneer area—that of the wheat-lands of western Canada; and a series of volumes will be issued by the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee which may be the forerunner of similar scientific studies of pioneer lands in other parts of the world.

For such studies the present volumes lay the foundations and set out the guiding principles. In *The pioneer fringe* the author surveys the whole field. Pioneering conditions are essentially different in the dry-lands of Australia and the northern steppes of Siberia, in the railway belt of northern Rhodesia and in the savanas of Bolivia. These differences are clearly defined: but the author performs a service in emphasizing the essential kinship among pioneer folk the world over in the expression of qualities without the practical evidence of which the human race would be the poorer. The intimate pictures of Bend in Oregon and Jordan County in Montana will appeal to many readers who are interested in the human side of the history of the American North-west and its pioneering vicissitudes.

In *Pioneer settlement*, under the editorship of Dr. Joerg, the co-operation has been secured of several of the leading geographers and students of social history in the countries where pioneering is still active. In Canada sound policies in colonisation for the future have yet to be elaborated. The student and the statesman will find much that is significant in this volume. May I be permitted only one quotation, and that because we are so frequently told to-day to keep an eye on Russia: "Colonisation in the U.S.S.R. is considered (like other govern-

ment activities) as a certain, *scientifically based* system of means to an end which by way of peopling raises the economically backward regions to the pace and level of the economic development of the whole country. To investigate many questions connected with this the U.S.S.R. has opened special research institutions and established university chairs of colonisation to train the young forces."

There are problems of practical importance on which light will be sought by the readers of the two volumes. Has a system of free land grants justified itself to the extent that it may be taken as sound policy for the future? How may methods of land classification be developed in the interest of sound colonisation? What weight must be placed on the sociological, in contradistinction to the purely economic, factor in wise settlement? Under what conditions may lack of moisture be satisfactorily compensated for by methods of irrigation? Much information is supplied, and the reader is in a position to draw tentative conclusions. Final answers can only come from studies directed to the solution of these and other equally pressing specific problems.

It means much to achieve a co-operative relationship among the geologists, soil chemists and physicists, meteorologists, plant ecologists, human geographers, historians, economists, and sociologists. The two volumes on pioneering provide the framework for such co-operation.

R. C. WALLACE

The International Joint Commission between the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada. By JOSEPH CHIRAKAKARAN CHACKO.

New York: Columbia University Press. 1932. Pp. 431. (\$5.50)

THE International Joint Commission is one of the most interesting and successful tribunals in existence at the present time for settling the issues and disputes that arise between two nations. One of the best indications of its success is the fact that it is rarely, if ever, commented upon by the press of either Canada or the United States; with the result that very few people in either country—or in any other for that matter—know anything about it. Another is the fact that it has been cited by Lord Curzon as a model for the adjustment of differences at the Dardanelles, by M. Briand for the settlement of difficulties between France and Germany, and by other statesmen as likely to be most useful, if copied, in dealing with the situation in Manchuria. At the same time, it must be admitted that, while it seems to offer a means of solving all disputes between Canada and the United States, its work has been almost wholly confined to disputes over boundary waters. The reasons for this are not altogether clear but it is probable that it is better suited to this kind of issue than to larger political and economic questions. Mr. Chacko himself writes in the highest terms of the members of the Commission but it is suggested in other quarters that the two governments would be reluctant to submit the more important issues to the decision of the commissioners that they have from time to time appointed.

The book itself is a useful one in that it is a comprehensive treatment of the Commission and its work, but it certainly will never be a "best seller". This is unfortunate, for a much larger circle in both countries should know more about the work of the Commission. The volume is

prefaced by a map and a series of notes indicating the areas in which disputes have arisen or are likely to arise. It then goes on to treat of the history of the boundary waters and the creation of the Commission; its judicial, administrative and investigative powers are discussed, as are also a statement of its interpretation of the Boundary Waters Treaty, and its voluntary jurisdiction. The bulk of the book is a condensation of the pleadings before the Commission, a résumé of its decisions, and a discussion of its work. This needs little comment but there are certain passages and statements which deserve consideration. It is doubtful, for instance, if the general acceptance which the author suggests, would be accorded to the view of the United States government (an interested party) mentioned on page 22: that "the rules of international law imposed upon the United States no duty to deny to its inhabitants the use of the water of that part of the Rio Grande lying wholly within the United States, although such use resulted in reducing the volume of water in the river below the point where it ceased to be entirely within the United States, the supposition of the existence of such a duty being inconsistent with the sovereign jurisdiction of the United States over the national domain". Nor is it clear that the discussion of the work of certain international commissions of inquiry, such as those appointed in accordance with the provisions of the Hague Convention of 1899, add to the value of the book (p. 30). The factual statements as to traffic on the Great Lakes (p. 45 *et seq.*) are interesting but could well have been omitted. In this connection the statement on page 113, that "already several millions of dollars have been invested in power projects in sections like the Sault Ste. Marie, the Niagara, and the Upper St. Lawrence" hardly does justice to the actual situation. The distinction between the "right" and "privilege" of navigating the River St. Lawrence is interesting and apt at the present time, as is the interpretation to be given to the term "forever" (p. 58 *et seq.*).

The original Canadian nominees to the Commission had a rather unfortunate experience, for after their names had been forwarded to London, Laurier's government was defeated and the Conservative ministry immediately took steps to cancel his nominations and to appoint others more to their liking.

The interpretation of "temporary diversion" put forward by the American counsel in the St. Croix River Case (p. 99) is most ingenious, for he claimed that "temporary" applied not to time but to the question as to whether the water was removed permanently or removed at one place and returned at another. This view, however, was not concurred in by the Commission.

The law applied by the Commission and the procedure adopted are outlined on pages 158 and 336. Where possible the Commission has confined its jurisdiction to the treaty itself, but, where faced with situations for which the treaty did not offer any solution, it would seem to have applied international law. In preparing the rules of procedure the Commission "endeavoured to follow the procedure of the Courts . . . with such latitude as necessary to meet the convenience of parties having business before the Commission. . . . We proceed as nearly as possible in accordance with the established rules of practice in judicial tribunals, both in the United States and Canada."

The voluntary jurisdiction provided for in article X has never been called into operation, but its possibilities are discussed at some length in chapter VII. It is regrettable that this provision has never been used for it would be of great value as an experiment in "all-in arbitration". It might also compensate for the fact that, apart from this rather inadequate method, there is no machinery in existence for settling disputes between Canada and the United States.

One of the author's conclusions (p. 371) that "Canada is facing the dawn of an industrial, economic, and agricultural golden age" is encouraging to say the least, but somewhat reminiscent of an election campaign.

NORMAN MACKENZIE

The Independence Papers. By JOHN S. EWART. Volume II (fifteen papers). Ottawa: Published by the Author. 1927-1932. Pp. 606. WITH the publication of the second volume of the *Independence papers* Mr. Ewart rests his case, as it were, in a cause which he has argued before the court of Canadian opinion for something more than a quarter of a century. The present volume includes in its table of contents such interesting topics as "The constitutional question of 1926", "British and dominion flags", "Privy Council appeals", "The Imperial Conference of 1930", and a number of related studies on the general subject of responsible government. Most of the questions discussed in this as in earlier publications are of a controversial character. Opinions may differ as to some of the conclusions, but none can charge the author with failing to produce the evidence upon which these conclusions are based. The evidence is either published *verbatim* in the body of the text, or chapter and verse are quoted with meticulous care in the footnotes. Students of history especially are indebted to him both for the wealth of data he has assembled on a variety of constitutional questions and for the manner in which this material has been made available for study and reference.

From the publication of the first *Kingdom papers* in 1904 to the appearance of this final volume in the present year, Mr. Ewart's contributions in pamphlets and newspaper correspondence have covered almost every conceivable aspect of constitutional relationships within the British Empire. The objectives for which he has contended during this long period do not admit of precise enumeration. His battle has been waged along an extended front. Conscious himself of the reality of Canadian nationality, he determined to sweep away the clouds of legal traditionalism which, he believed, concealed the true tendency of political development in the overseas communities of the British Empire. By his keen power of analysis, aided not a little by subtle irony and penetrating satire, he succeeded in divesting the subject of imperial relations of much of its inheritance of obscurantism, and set the minds of many students of history and law on the path of inquiry into the validity of the current gospel of imperial unity on a basis of colonial subordination. To those who sometimes asked of Mr. Ewart what he really wished for Canada, the answer is made clear and definite in this book. "I want Canada to have the status assured to her by the Report of the Imperial Conference of 1926, namely, a status equal to

that of the United Kingdom itself. I desire (as the clause declares) that the United Kingdom and Canada shall be 'in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic and external affairs'. I want that, and nothing less than that will satisfy me, or, for very long, the vast majority of my fellow-Canadians." Such a statement of purpose will provoke little dissent in these latter years. But one must remember that it was proclaimed by the author of the *Independence papers* when he was almost alone in its advocacy.

The "Ewart papers", if one may give them a new description, are assured of a long and useful life. They form not only an invaluable commentary on the notable constitutional development of recent years, but have themselves contributed in no small degree to the attainment of the new order of co-equal status which has found its legal expression in the Statute of Westminster. Even the bitterest of his critics cannot fail to pay tribute to Mr. Ewart for his courtesy in debate, his diligence, and his pertinacity. There are many others whose minds have been stimulated by his writings who will share his gratification in the attainment of his goal, but will hope that a mind so richly stored and a pen so trenchant in logic may find new tasks as worthy of their employment in the era of national autonomy upon which we have now entered.

NORMAN MCL. ROGERS

John Jacob Astor, Business Man. By KENNETH WIGGINS PORTER.

Two volumes. (Harvard studies in business history, edited by N. S. B. GRAS.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1931. Pp. xxvii, 585; xiii, 587-1353.

The Reflections of Inkyo on the Great Company. London: London General Press. 1931. Pp. 207.

THIS study of the business activities of John Jacob Astor, especially in connection with the fur-trade, throws much light on the fur-trade of North America and on the fur-trade of Canada, even although the exhaustive character of the biography gives relatively slight evidence of Astor's dependence on the Canadian trade. He bought furs in Montreal and was associated with Alexander Henry, but his purchases appear to have been chiefly of muskrat and in relation to the fringes of the trade which had grown up with the North-west. He drew on Canadian experience in the formation of the Pacific Fur Company by employing men who had belonged to the North West Company in a period of over-expansion in that organization, as did the Hudson's Bay Company. Again, after the amalgamation of 1821, men like Kenneth Mackenzie were thrown out of employment and joined the Columbia Fur Company.

But it was significant that Astor failed to appreciate the characteristics of the North West Company's organization, and consequently lost Astoria. The American Fur Company was an organization worked out in relation to strong control by Astor, and adapted to the geographic background of the United States. It is suggestive that it showed the same tendency toward centralized control and that the same close relationship with the government appeared, as in the fur-trade in Canada. The significance of this development is shown in the establishment of a

balance with the Canadian fur-trade, of which the net results were shown in the final disputes over the boundary. The area from which the Canadian fur-trade withdrew was consolidated by Astor and the American fur-trade. The Astoria project was designed to check the expansion of the North West Company on the Pacific coast, and became an important step in the expansion of the United States (I, 459), preceded as it was by New England traders to the north-west coast, and followed by the expansion of trade across the headwaters of the Missouri to the Columbia. The Columbia district was marginal territory in the struggle represented by the fur-trade between the American and the British empires. (See Frederick Merk, *Fur trade and empire*, Harvard Press, 1931.) The American empire was strongly supported by settlers and won. The strength of the American organization was shown more clearly on *infra* marginal territory after the War of 1812, when Astor's "altogether probable" influence with the government of the United States led to the barring of Canadian traders from the American trade, as it had been conducted under the South West Company (II, 688-694). Agreements between the American Fur Company and the Hudson's Bay Company as to trading territory, suggested the even character of the balance. Astor epitomized the trends of the fur-trade in the United States. But whereas the fur-trade was largely responsible for the location of the boundary line of Canada, the fur-trade under Astor was a consolidation of territory left vacant by Canadian retrenchment. Political influence in the United States was chiefly concerned with pushing the trade to the boundary after the latter had been established, whereas in Canada it was concerned with the actual determination of the boundary.

It is scarcely necessary to indicate further the importance of these volumes to a study of the Canadian trade. Minor errors should be noted. Nathaniel Atcheson was not the author of the *Origin and progress of the North West Company* (I, 216-7). (See *Report of Public Archives*, 1928, appendix E.) The reference to Henry's letters to Edgar in 1786 should be considered in relation to Cook's voyages, rather than to Astoria (I, 170).

The volume by Inkyo, whose acquaintance with the Hudson's Bay Company has been so long and intimate as to make advisable the use of a pen name, may well be considered in association with Astor's biography even although in many respects they are widely separated. Inkyo is concerned with the financial policy of the company during the past seventy years and with the problems which have presented themselves acutely to the company in the past few years. He is particularly concerned with the experience of the company in dealing with land. Astor's conspicuous financial success was in part the result of pouring profits from trade in furs and other commodities into Manhattan real estate. His difficulties with purchases of land in Lower Canada, in portions of New York State, and elsewhere, contrast sharply with his success in the purchase of land over which he had direct supervision. The results of Astor's experience with land might well provide Inkyo with new material. He complains that returns from sales of land should not have been treated entirely as dividends but should have been held as reserve for capital (p. 70). The problem of deficits from land and of the necessity

of securing large quantities of capital, especially for the expansion of stores, would have been less serious than has been the case. It is only fair, however, to state that the land policy of the Hudson's Bay Company is regarded as only a symptom of the trends of the London market, on which Inkyo reflects with shrewd acumen. He claims to be interested "in the art of money making as distinguished from mere knowledge and skill in economics and the methods and subjects of business", an art in which Astor, according to his biographer, was probably never "approached, much less surpassed". But Astor was an individual, whereas the Hudson's Bay Company is a corporation, and Inkyo is convinced, like Herbert Spencer, that "the fundamental vice of our system . . . is the misinterpretation of the proprietary contract". The difficulties are illustrated in Inkyo's survey of the financial history of the Hudson's Bay Company and they begin with the acquisition of control of the company by groups. These changes in control are in evidence in 1863 with the dominance of Grand Trunk interests, to be followed in 1883 by Lord Strathcona and Canadian Pacific interests, and in 1910 by the still small voice of Morgan, of Harrods, and later of Debenhams. Finally, he describes the influence of brokers responsible for the issue of capital on such questionable grounds as that it would act "as a stabilizing influence on the market" (130-1). The result of Inkyo's analysis is a very valuable contribution to the study of corporation finance and of the trend toward the Americanization of London finance. The volume, if not the anonymity of the author, is, however, an indication that the process is not complete and that in the Hudson's Bay Company, at least, a shareholder is still regarded in some quarters as a proprietor.

But in spite of Inkyo's valuable analysis, the problem remains unsolved. The volume presents a vital, but generally neglected, aspect of the company's history. The author concludes on an optimistic note but the final issue must be determined in Canada. Responsible government in business has tended to follow responsible government in politics. The Grand Trunk and Charles Robin and Company have been among the more recent companies to yield to Canadian control. Inkyo is opposed to a Canadian company and insists on the rights of the proprietor. The problem is essentially one of personnel—a problem in which the Hudson's Bay Company has had a long range of experience. On the other hand, its experience has been in relation to furs rather than to land and stores. Astor certainly found that land required the most exacting attention, and individual attention is no less essential in the management of such a highly competitive business as stores. Neither Inkyo nor the Hudson's Bay Company have solved the crucial problems of these new developments—all the more crucial with the decline in the rapidity of expansion in western Canada. With such interest as that of Inkyo's one cannot doubt but that the problems will be solved, but they should be faced immediately and energetically if the result is to be wholly successful. Happily there is evidence that the problems are being so faced. Students of corporation finance will do well to read with great care the reflections of Inkyo. For Canadian history the volume is a valuable analysis of the effects of enormous changes in Canadian economic development since 1869 on the problems of a long established company and, at the same

time, a commentary on the difficulty of working out an adaptable financial policy.

H. A. INNIS

Baron de Lahontan: Dialogues curieux entre l'auteur et un sauvage de bon sens qui a voyagé et Mémoires de l'Amérique septentrionale. Publiés par GILBERT CHINARD. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press; Paris: A. Margraff; London: Oxford University Press. 1931. Pp. 268. (100 fr.)

CONSIDERED as a product of social conditions, Lahontan may be termed a genuine representative of Gascony and of the Gascon people. As an economic entity, Gascony has been for centuries, and remains to-day, a wine-producing country of the more complex variety specializing in the distillation of spirits for exportation. It is notable that throughout his writings, Lahontan evinces a lively interest in the fur-trade and its mainstay, the sale of liquor to the Indians. In this respect, as in many others, he is in close sympathy and alliance with his aggressive, highly-strung compatriot, that stormy petrel in the history of New France, Governor Frontenac.

Considered more especially as a writer, Lahontan takes his cue mostly from two men of letters of ancient times, both strongly distinctive—Petronius and Lucian. Having for his patrons such two propounders of loose morals and loose thinking; then, thrust under the rule of that autocratic government of Louis XIV where he lived in close contact with governing classes (whether clergy or officials) who were bred in the habits of suspicion and arbitrary rule, Lahontan was swayed by an unfortunate combination of historical, economic, and temperamental influences. It is no wonder in the circumstances that the wayward young gentleman should have led a miserable life, made still worse at times by his own irritable temper. Even if this scapegoat of a Gascon had not written books seething with discontent against the authorities, full of gibes and sarcasm levelled at the clergy and the functionaries, he would have found it difficult to live in peace with the powers that be. From the start it seemed a foregone conclusion that Lahontan would spend the greater part of his life outside France, roaming in the wilds of Canada, whose lure he strongly felt, or else as an exile, a refugee in England, Denmark, Sweden, or Holland. (In the latter country he caused the several editions of his books to be printed.)

The workmanship of this excerpt of Lahontan's writings (the *Dialogues curieux*) is, in its twofold aspect, practical and intellectual, highly creditable to the editors and the author respectively. An introduction covering seventy-two pages is replete with information relating to the Baron de Lahontan himself, to his temporary associate, the erstwhile monk Gueudeville, and to the numerous editions of his writings, fragmentary or otherwise, some twenty-eight all told, whether French, English, German, Dutch, or Italian. In this connection, Professor Chinard has largely benefited from the labours of the noted French-Canadian historical writer, the late Joseph Edmond Roy, as well as from those of Mr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, who has contributed an extensive bibliography to Thwaites's edition of 1905.

M. Chinard alludes summarily, though aptly enough, to Lahontan's flippant, misleading, and offensive commentary on the character of some of the women sent over from the old country to marry the settlers of New France. However, many will think that the particular interest attaching to M. Chinard's book as a help to the proper understanding of Lahontan, lies in his valuable and original considerations respecting that elusive writer's relations to, and connections with, the foremost authorities on kindred subjects, as well as the high lights in the realm of philosophical thought throughout the eighteenth century and even in the twentieth: Charlevoix, Lafitau, LeClerc, Leibnitz, Hobbes, Shaftesbury, Addison, Swift, LeSage, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, Châteaubriand.

LÉON GÉRIN

History of the Cavalier de la Salle, 1643-1687: Explorations in the Valleys of the Ohio, Illinois and Mississippi. By PAUL CHESNEL. Translated from the French by ANDRÉE CHESNEL MEANY. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1932. Pp. 223. (\$3.00)

L'expédition de Cavalier de la Salle dans le Golfe du Mexique (1684-1687). By Baron MARC DE VILLIERS. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient—Adrien-Maisonneuve. 1931. Pp. 235. (80 fr.)

Four Cents an Acre. By GEORGES OULARD. Translated by MARGERIE BIANCO. New York: Brewer and Warren. 1931. Pp. 316. (\$3.50)

A LARGE number of biographies of this North American explorer has been lately pouring from the various presses in the United States and France. The reviewer is at a loss to understand this recent increase of interest in La Salle, all the more that works of research tend to prove that he was not the great misunderstood and persecuted hero that he is represented as being by Parkman and the early biographers. Therefore it is difficult to see why Chesnel's life, written over thirty years ago, and since discredited in many parts, should now appear in English dress. Neither the translator (the author's daughter) nor the publishers have made any effort to check the misstatements, incorrect dates, and inadequate treatment of the subject revealed by modern research and presented by recent biographers and historians of New France. To Chesnel La Salle was the Chevalier Bayard of the Mississippi valley *sans peur et sans reproche*. He accepts all La Salle's own bombast about his exploits, representing him as the discoverer of the Ohio before 1670 (an exceedingly doubtful attribution) and as the explorer of the Mississippi before Jolliet in 1673, an utterly wrong assumption. La Salle, as the persecuted hero, misrepresented and misunderstood in New France, returns to Old France and leads an expedition to the coast of Texas, where he perishes as a martyr to the cause of France in the New World.

The book is attractively printed, has modern maps on the lining papers, and reproductions of two of Anville's maps as folders. The portrait, which is used as frontispiece, is known to be apochryphal. On the whole, the reviewer cannot agree with the publisher that the book is a "scholarly biography" and "an authoritative contribution".

We have in the work of the Baron de Villiers an entirely different

point of view from that of the former author concerning La Salle's last expedition and his death in the desert. Baron de Villiers is one of the keenest modern scholars and his work is based upon a new evaluation of the sources available in Paris. Much of this material has never before been used and the author throws new light upon the situation which reveals the motives, mistakes, misadventures, and losses occasioned by the expedition to found the colony of Louisiana on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. Baron de Villiers does not spare La Salle, nor present him as persecuted and misunderstood. Instead he places the blame for the utter failure of the venture squarely upon its author's shoulders. La Salle and he alone was responsible for the death of the one hundred and sixty colonists, whom he brought from France. Beaujeu, the captain of the fleet that transported them to the inhospitable shores of Texas did not betray or abandon La Salle and his colonists. The worst enemies of La Salle, the author thinks, are his fanatical friends, especially the biographers and historians who have distorted the facts to uplift their hero. Pride, ambition, obstinacy, and love of gold were the qualities that brought him to ruin, and whatever history owes to La Salle for opening the Mississippi valley to French enterprise must be offset by the results of his last expedition, brought to ruin by his faults of character and lack of foresight, followed by his not wholly undeserved murder by his own followers.

Probably the Baron de Villiers goes too far in his reversal of the former estimates of this explorer, but the reviewer thinks his judgments, based on full sources, form a valuable counterpoise and reaction to the adulation too long expressed for this Frenchman in North America.

The startling title *Four cents an acre* is given to the English edition of Oulard's *Notre Louisiane*, and refers, of course, to the Louisiana purchase by the United States. The author, who is a novelist as well as a biographer, has a real talent for narration, but unfortunately he knows nothing of historical methods, has no knowledge of North American topography and is without the ability to transfer correctly to modern terms the source narratives of the original explorers. He therefore makes with *sangfroid* and cheerful unconcern such egregious errors as to start Jolliet's expedition from Mackinac Island, instead of St. Ignace on the north shore of the straits, to assert that Marquette died on the "heights of Chicago" instead of at Marquette River, Michigan, and that Tonty and his companions found Father Gabriel headless in the woods, when they did not know for months, perhaps years what had been his fate.

Although full of erroneous statements due either to a careless reading of the texts or to inability to comprehend them, the book will no doubt have considerable vogue among the uninformed. It treats in an attractive manner the entire history of the French régime in the Mississippi valley down to the sale to the United States, which Bonaparte considered a war measure indirectly weakening Great Britain by enlarging and strengthening the United States. This final episode is interestingly and adequately presented, with that tincture of regret which all Frenchmen feel at the loss of so great a colony. There is no index, but the volume closes with an elaborate but incomplete bibliography.

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG

Kultur-geschichtliche Grundlagen der amerikanischen Revolution. By KÄTHE SPIEGEL. München und Berlin: Verlag von R. Oldenbourg. 1931. Pp. x, 214.

THIS book provides a comprehensive survey of many points in the social and economic background of the American Revolution. Religion, education, colonial legislation, the shifting from the theory of royal and proprietary rights to that of parliamentary domination, and cognate subjects are dealt with. The economic section of the book, however, is by all odds the most suggestive and interesting, especially when it deals with Navigation Acts, smuggling, piracy, non-importation agreements, crookedness displayed by some of the parties to them, the heavy indebtedness of the colonists to the English merchants, and that of the western settlers to the colonists of the seaboard.

While acknowledging the general excellence of the book, one may remark upon some of its omissions and of its statements. In emphasizing the growing divergences between the colonies and Great Britain due to distance and the like, Miss Spiegel seems not to have apprehended the importance in the contrary direction of the constant voyaging across the Atlantic and back by mere visitors, business men, and young colonists seeking training as lawyers and doctors. All ordinands of the Church of England, for example, had to receive their orders in England from the Bishop of London in person or from a deputy designated by him. On such matters more or less information is furnished by the letters of Sir William Johnson and of Dr. Samuel Johnson, first president of King's College, New York. They show, on the other hand, that the vexed question of Anglican bishops for America and the "invasion" of Congregational New England by missionaries of the Anglican S.P.G. caused no little colonial ferment. On these subjects Miss Spiegel does not touch, although she treats of the "Great Awakening", on which Dr. Johnson had rather severe strictures to pass.

Open to serious question are the statements that Great Britain (much more "England") became, by the Treaty of Paris, owner of the country immediately to the eastward of the Mississippi and that "the newly acquired territory was primarily an Indian Reservation". Treaties such as that of Fort Stanwix had to be negotiated as late as 1768-1769 for the purchase of the rights of soil from the Indians, as witness Sir William Johnson's correspondence with General Gage, commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces. Yet later treaties had to be made with a view to buying what is now the Province of Ontario, which likewise had never belonged to France. One is greatly surprised by the almost complete neglect of the fur-trade and of the attempts to regulate it, which were of vital importance to the economic life of the colonies and which also occupy large space in the correspondence last referred to.

In view of the provisions of the Treaty of Utrecht, to speak of none earlier, it is wide of the mark to assert that in 1763 "England" found herself confronted "for the first time" with the task of ruling non-English conquered territories. In her treatment of New France Miss Spiegel omits all mention of the intendant; nor does she suggest reasons (economic, political, or religious) for the French Canadians failing to

join the Thirteen Colonies, although she has some interesting things to say as to why the West Indies remained in the empire.

There is a most useful bibliography of contemporary and modern material but, unfortunately, there is no index.

A. H. YOUNG

The Life and Times of Colonel Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky. By LELAND WINFIELD MEYER. New York: Columbia University Press; London: P. S. King and Son. 1932. Pp. 508. (\$5.50)

The subject of this portly and well-produced volume was an important political personage in his own state and in the United States for many years, but is now all but forgotten. Elected a representative from Kentucky at an early age as a colleague of Henry Clay, he emulated him as a fervent advocate of war against England. "I shall never die contented", he declared in one of his bombastic speeches, "until I see her expulsion from North America, and her territories incorporated with the United States." Nor did he hesitate to back his words by deeds. He twice took the field at the head of a regiment of mounted riflemen and undoubtedly performed valiant service, which ended at the Battle of the Thames, on October 5, 1813, when he was badly wounded while charging the Indians, and was credited by some of his admirers with having shot Tecumseh. The record of his service in the war fills a chapter of fifty-one pages, in which frequent quotations are made from his unpublished correspondence with the secretary of war, throwing fresh light on some events, and a plan, drawn by him of the Battle of the Thames, is reproduced. This chapter, like the rest of the book, supplies commendable evidence of industrious research, from which it must be remarked that all British and Canadian authorities are excluded, and the narrative is frankly one-sided.

Johnson's considerable military reputation promoted his election to the senate of the United States, and many years later made him vice-president. In 1840 he was defeated for re-election by John Tyler in the feverish contest which made his former commander, General Harrison, president for a single month. Yet Johnson was not at all disheartened, but promptly secured a seat in the legislature of Kentucky and sought vainly to be nominated as president four years later.

E. A. CRUIKSHANK

With Pen and Pencil on the Frontier in 1851: The Diary and Sketches of FRANK BLACKWELL MAYER. Edited by BERTHA L. HEILBRON. Saint Paul: The Minnesota Historical Society. 1932. Pp. xii, 214. (\$2.50)

THIS book is the first of a series of narratives and documents, which, in the words of the preface, "will be employed as a vehicle for the publication of diaries, letters, newspaper items and other historical materials of distinct Minnesota interest".

Mayer was a young Baltimore artist, who journeyed to Minnesota to be present at the treaty between the government of the United States and the Indians at Traverse des Sioux, to make sketches and to study Indian life as material for pictorial representation. The diary, sketch

books, and numerous drawings and paintings by Mayer are now in the Ayer collection of the Newberry Library of Chicago; and it is through the courtesy of the library that the Minnesota Historical Society publishes the diary and a selection from Mayer's pictures.

The subject matter is mainly of local interest, and contains nothing that touches the field of Canadian history. Neither the diary nor the drawings add much of importance to our knowledge of Indian life in general. As a record of an artist's impressions of life on the American north-west frontier in the middle nineteenth century it possesses some interest. Mayer's visit extended over only a few months, and it would be unreasonable to expect that his work would have the intimate knowledge that is revealed in the drawings of such artists as Catlin, Seth Eastman, Bodmer, or Paul Kane, whose experiences of Indian life covered a longer period and a wider range. Judging from the examples included in the volume under review, Mayer's sketches are faithful and conscientious in detail, and display an artistic freedom of handling that make them attractive in themselves, though many of them are little more than hasty short-hand notes. The diary has much the same character as the sketches: it consists of notes jotted down, with no attempt at literary finish, while the writer's observation was still fresh and vivid.

The introduction gives an account of Mayer's life, and the notes are complete and illuminating. The format and typography of this unpretentious little book is neat, convenient, and in simple good taste, and these are qualities too frequently lacking in publications of this kind. Many historical societies seem to ignore such matters, and, therefore, hide such light as their subject matter may possess under the bushel of repellant type, dull and ugly page spacing, and clumsy binding. Both in its editorial presentation and in its attractive external form, this book is a model of its kind.

CHARLES W. JEFFERYS

First Grand Master: A Biography of William Mercer Wilson, First Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Canada A.F. and A.M. By BRUCE M. PEARCE. Simcoe, Ontario: The Pearce Publishing Company. 1932. Pp. 189.

ENDORSED and recommended by Grand Lodge, this interesting book gives a vivid account not only of the Masonic but also of the military, municipal, and judicial activities of William Mercer, who for family reasons took the additional surname Wilson. In Masonry his great achievement was the bringing about, without any friction, the union of rival Grand Lodges, to the great benefit of the Order. In military matters he gave a good account of himself, under Sir Allan McNab, in helping to quell the Rebellion of 1837. In the County of Norfolk and in its county town, Simcoe, he served his fellow citizens well in a variety of offices, paid and unpaid, being a leader in every good cause. As county judge, he was zealous in the preservation of law and order, as the thrilling introduction shows. Equally thrilling is the chapter entitled "A southern pilgrimage", which contains numerous extracts from a diary kept during a visit to the scene of warfare at the time of the

Civil War in the United States. The appreciations of governors like Sir Charles Bagot and Lord Elgin are well worth while, as, too, is the reference to the great exhibition of 1851, at which the grand master represented Canada.

To all members of the Craft the epilogue will be of interest in that it contains a notice of a very recent grand master, the late Honourable John S. Martin, who was instrumental in causing to be erected in St. John's Churchyard, Woodhouse, a new monument in memory of his eminent predecessor. "During his term as Grand Master, M. W. Bro. Martin made of the annual pilgrimage to St. John's a truly notable ceremony, with Masonic dignitaries from all parts of the jurisdiction gathering to pay their tribute of respect and affection."

A. H. YOUNG

Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society. Volume XXVIII.

Toronto: Published by the Society. 1932. Pp. 339. (\$2.00)

THE publication of the Ontario Historical Society for 1932 contains an interestingly varied collection of contributions. In the volume there are papers of wide and immediate general interest such as Mr. Denison's "Radio in the teaching of history" and Mr. Arthur's "Early architecture in Ontario". Then there are articles on early settlement in Simcoe County, on shipping out of Collingwood, and one or two papers of personal reminiscences of earlier days; and it need scarcely be added that in the publication of such papers, in which personal knowledge and local tradition and records play a large part, the society continues to perform one of its most useful functions. The publication of original materials is also continued in the present volume, and there are three short collections of letters and journals of certain early missionaries and preachers in the province. From the point of view of national history, the article by Brigadier-General Cruikshank on "The genesis of the Canada Act" deserves a special prominence; and its length and thoroughness give it the importance of a separate monograph. It is essentially a detailed, documentary history of the movement for the amendment of the Quebec Act; and General Cruikshank has collected a wealth of material from the letters, petitions, and parliamentary debates of the time. In the selection and organization of these materials and in his own sparing but illuminating commentary, General Cruikshank has performed a most useful service of compilation, and it cannot be doubted that his article will be of considerable value for all students of the period.

It should be added that each of the articles in the volume has been separately listed in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW's index of recent publications relating to Canada.

D. G. CREIGHTON

History of St. George's Parish, Guelph, Ontario, 1832-1932. Guelph,

Ontario: Printed and bound by the Gummer Press. 1932.

Pp. ii, 92.

EXCEPTING in connection with the quarrel over the clergy reserves, so little creditable in any way to any of the communions concerned, the

historians of the Province of Ontario have had but little to say regarding churches and their affairs. Yet churches have had a greater share than any other agencies but homes and schools in making the inhabitants what they are. Therefore, when a committee with historic sense puts out a book like this one, which treats of the veritable mother parish of the Anglican Church in the County of Wellington, it deserves to find a wide circle of readers. When a sufficient number of similar books that can be depended upon shall have been written, something like a true understanding of the spirit of Ontario can be arrived at.

Events are grouped under the rectorships of the four men who have been set over the parish during the century it has just completed. They have all been public-spirited men who have rendered service embracing territory wider than that of their village or town or city; and of that service the two principal contributors give an excellent account. Incidental reference is made, of course, to John Galt and the Canada Company, to mention no other layman or organization.

Portraits of the rectors and of other notables who have been intimately associated with the church appear, together with well-executed engravings of the three edifices in which the congregation has successively worshipped. A most interesting pen and ink sketch of the first school-house in the "Royal City" is reproduced, giving a better idea, even than the topographical references, of the great changes that have taken place in the hundred and five years since the city began to be hewn out of the bush.

A list of wardens from 1851 to 1932 contains a large number of names well known beyond the confines of the city and the county. Unfortunately there is no index and there are a few, happily a very few, typographical errors.

A. H. YOUNG

The Economic Welfare of the Maritime Provinces. By S. A. SAUNDERS. (Economic publications no. 1.) \$1,000 prize essay in competition conducted by Acadia University. Wolfville, N.S.: 1932. Pp. 160. (\$1.50)

THIS little volume upon economic conditions of the Maritime Provinces was the winner of a \$1,000 prize which was offered by Acadia University through the liberality of a friend of this institution. Mr. Saunders was an easy winner and, as Professor Balcom says in his introduction, his book constitutes by far "the most comprehensive study of economic conditions in the Maritime Provinces".

There are, as Professor Balcom intimates, two prevailing views with reference to the comparatively backward conditions of these provinces. The writer has met them throughout different parts of Canada. One view held quite widely by certain people in the Maritime Provinces is that their failure to develop as rapidly as other parts of the dominion is due to political causes—to the "persistent disregard of our interests in shaping Canadian economic policies". The other view which prevails more outside these provinces is that the condition of the provinces is due almost entirely to the lack of initiative, energy, and intelligence of the people and to the injurious habit of looking to government for that

success which can only come through the exercise of energy, initiative, and independence of spirit.

I need not say that both these views are superficial and betray ignorance of the main factors in the situation. The leadership and achievements of the people of the Maritime Provinces in industry and in the professions in Canada, in the eastern United States, and in the Maritime Provinces themselves disprove the charge of either inferior ability or lack of energy and initiative when opportunity offers. But unquestionably such a migration of young energy and ability as these provinces have suffered must effect their development and it is little wonder that leadership is too often in the hands of the older and more conservative persons.

But the cry that all the ills of the Maritime Provinces are due to political measures forced upon them at Ottawa and that they can easily be cured by a change of that policy which would give back the "rights" they had prior to Confederation—is so lacking in any comprehensive grasp and understanding of economic and social conditions as to give some justification for the charge that the Maritime Provinces have at least many influential people who have little knowledge, insight, or business acumen and judgment.

It has been apparent for some time that what these provinces need is a careful survey of their resources and possibilities. They need an analysis of the nature and extent of their resources and of their marketing facilities so that a wise judgment may be formed as to the extent and manner in which business ability, capital, and labour may be employed in development. They need to understand how far failure may be due to lack of the necessary richness of resources and how far to inefficient methods of business organization in production and distribution. They need a more careful study of markets, of transportation, and of the relation of these to their resources and to the nature of their industries. It is exactly such a study that Mr. Saunders has attempted in his *Economic welfare of the Maritime Provinces*.

In this volume Mr. Saunders has made a study that will serve as a basis for further work. It should be followed by studies of the problems of individual industries or of the specific problems of related industries. The book is comprehensive and reliable. It gathers together the salient and significant facts of the economic situation and presents them in a scientific and objective manner. I am not concerned with any captious or petty criticisms. What is more important is to follow up this study by more detailed and specific investigations.

The reviewer congratulates Acadia University upon this publication of its first study in economic problems. It is hoped that this little volume may be followed by others of like scholarship. Mr. Saunders did his work under what would seem to most men a very serious handicap and he deserves all the more credit for the valuable contribution he has made to his native provinces. We trust that his future investigations will deal with the problems of the same region.

W. C. KEIRSTEAD

Education for Empire Settlement: A Study of Juvenile Migration. By ALEX. G. SCHOLES. (Royal Empire Society, *Imperial studies*, no. 6.) London: Longmans, Green and Company. 1932. Pp. xii, 250. (\$2.50)

THIS volume is number 6 of the Royal Empire Society's *Imperial studies*. It is divided into three parts. The first seventy pages summarize the history of juvenile migration from the days, one hundred years ago, when juvenile criminals were transported to penal colonies; through the experiments with special training schools designed to fit young offenders for colonial life; through the early philanthropic work of Miss Rye and Miss Macpherson; down to the system as it existed in 1914. Part II, covering nearly one hundred pages, describes in considerable detail the post-war developments in juvenile migration down to the end of 1930. The third part examines the social aspects of the movement, with special reference to the immediate and more remote effects on the problem of population both in Great Britain and in the dominions.

The first two parts of this book are an excellent piece of descriptive work. The reader is taken through a complex mass of statutes, orders, regulations, and official memoranda with ease and expedition. Where description necessarily treads on controversial ground, as in the controversy in Canada in 1924 and 1925 on the merits of juvenile migration, Mr. Scholes states both sides fairly and sums up judiciously. About one-half of the space is devoted to Canada, and there are separate chapters on Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. In covering so large a field in so great detail, Mr. Scholes appears to have avoided all but the most minor errors. There is a reference (p. 43) to Colonel Laurie as "Governor of Nova Scotia". Colonel Laurie was not the governor, but the adjutant-general of militia stationed at Halifax. There are a few very minor discrepancies in statistics and in dates.

The more theoretical discussions in part III are open to criticism. The general argument is that migration (and especially juvenile migration) will reduce unemployment in Great Britain directly, by drawing off surplus population, and indirectly by increasing the demand in the dominions for British manufactures. The fundamental assumptions underlying this argument cannot go unchallenged. There is no demonstrable connection between the total population in any area and the volume of unemployment. Secondly, there are strong reasons for doubting that immigration has made any net increase to the population of Canada in the past twenty years. Thirdly, an increase in the British population of a dominion does not necessarily mean larger purchases from Great Britain. Mr. Scholes overlooks all but the last of these objections. There is a further fundamental misconception of the problem of population when we are told that since Canada has a population of 2.62 per square mile, Australia, 2.15, and New Zealand 14.12, there is, therefore, an urgent need for large-scale migration to Canada and Australia, but none to New Zealand (p. 153). It is discouraging still to be told that only when migrants overseas engage in primary production does Great Britain derive the maximum benefit (p. 183). Mr. Scholes has been unable or unwilling to divest himself of the notion that the dominions are still to be regarded essentially as sources of raw

materials and markets for the finished products of the industries of Great Britain.

In conclusion, it should be repeated that parts I and II are a very valuable addition to our knowledge and understanding of an extremely interesting and important social experiment.

K. W. TAYLOR

Statistical Year Book of Quebec, 1931, 18th year. Quebec: Redempti Paradis. 1931. Pp. xxv, 487.

THIS volume is, as always, a comprehensive compilation of statistics relating to Quebec. Much of the material may, of course, be found in the *Canada year book*. The main importance of the present work, therefore, lies in those sections of it which deal with matters which the *Canada year book* touches only lightly or not at all: education, provincial finance, the co-operative "People's banks", the Liquor Commission, the agricultural co-operatives. On all these the Quebec year book provides a wealth of detailed information of considerable value.

A few minor changes might be suggested. As Professor Mackintosh pointed out last year (*CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, September, 1931, p. 336): "Tables of imports and exports from the province would be more accurately termed imports and exports through Quebec ports." Again, the phrase "alcoholic liquors" (p. 200) seems from the context to mean rather "spirituous liquors". Under "Organized labour" (p. 421), the meaning of "coalitions" is not clear. Is this a faulty translation like "labour syndicates" for "trade unions" on the next page?

E. A. FORSEY

Some Educational Factors affecting the Relations between Canada and the United States. By ARTHUR A. HAUCK. Easton, Pennsylvania: 1932. Pp. 100.

THIS monograph embodies the result of an inquiry by Dean Hauck of Lafayette College into the extent and sources of the information about their neighbours, and the attitude towards them of over 1,000 students in the final grade of the secondary schools of all sections of the country in both the United States and Canada. Neither group displayed any real animus against the other country: the American students were friendly but uninterested while the Canadian students were friendly but too inclined to pass judgment upon "impressions gained from accounts of sensational and undesirable features of American life". The Canadian students were quite well informed about the United States but ignorant of such matters as the Rush-Bagot Convention and the International Joint Commission: the American students were generally ignorant of even the most elementary facts about Canada. The text-books of both countries were alike in displaying "a spirit of tolerance, fairness and goodwill" but Dean Hauck thinks that the American histories and geographies in their "scant attention" given to Canada are largely responsible for the poor showing of the American pupils.

F. H. SOWARD

International Bibliography of Historical Sciences. Second year, 1927.

Edited by the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Washington. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1932. Pp. lxxx, 430.

THE second volume of this ambitious and well-deserving initiative has been prepared by an editorial committee composed of R. Holtzmann, Berlin; V. Ussani, Rome; P. Caron, Paris; J. H. Baxter, St. Andrews; and J. Susta, Prague; assisted by a certain number of collaborators. They have adopted the following scheme of classification: A. Auxiliary sciences of history; B. Manuals, general works; C. Pre-history; D. The ancient east; E. Greek history; F. Roman history; G. Early history of the church to Gregory the Great; H. Byzantine history; I. History of the middle ages; K. Modern history. General works; L. Modern religious history; M. History of modern culture; N. Modern history and social history; O. Modern legal and constitutional history; P. History of international relations; Q. Asia; R. Africa; S. America to its colonisation.

This classification is sufficient to give an idea of the immense scope of the work in hand. Perhaps it will also explain our disappointment in looking up the Canadian publications listed. The index shows only three Canadian items: Bracq, *L'Évolution du Canada français*; Dunham, *Political unrest in Upper Canada*, and Brebner, *New England's outpost, Acadia before the conquest of Canada*. There is no mention *inter alia*, of the following publications of 1927: *Treaties and agreements affecting Canada in force between his majesty and the United States of America with subsidiary documents*; Innis, *The fur-trade of Canada*; Pierce, *An outline of Canadian literature*; Candide, *Une mission capucine en Acadie*; Fauteux, *Essai sur l'industrie au Canada sous le régime français*; *Journal of William Amherst in America, 1758-1760*, edited by Webster; Caron, *La colonisation de la Province de Québec*; Middleton and Landon, *The Province of Ontario, a history*; Wade, *Mackenzie of Canada*; *Journals and letters of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Vérendrye and his sons*, edited by Burpee.

The extremely meagre list of Canadian books is the more surprising and the more faulty as the editorial committee claim that they have examined the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, as well as the *American historical review*. Then it would seem there is no excuse for it, especially as it would have been possible for them to use Miss Griffin's *Writings on American history, 1927*, which was published as early as 1930, two years ahead of the *International bibliography*. If the International Committee wish to interest Canadian scholars and students in their publication, they will certainly have to improve and re-organize their bibliographical method as far as Canada is concerned. Albania and Turkestan have longer lists of publications than Canada.

GUSTAVE LANCTOT

CORRESPONDENCE

CABOT'S SURVEYS

(The following letter has been received from Mr. G. R. F. Prowse of Winnipeg, with reference to the review of his *Cabot's surveys* which was printed in the September issue of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, page 318.)

Dr. Biggar in his review brings twenty-one charges against me, the most serious of which is that I have made "many unsubstantiated statements". He cannot show a case of this sort in the accounts of the voyages of Cabot and the Cortereals, the only subjects which are treated as final and which are of interest to the general historian. I may be wrong in my conclusions about these voyages; but, if my theories about the discoveries are faulty, it is the business of a reviewer to show logically, step by step, where the error lies. I have a right to expect, for a highly technical work like mine full of intricate arguments, that, if a criticism is not directly relevant to my main subjects, this shall be explicitly stated.

Dr. Biggar's failure to mark these distinctions places me at a great disadvantage, for the space at my disposal will only permit me to allude very briefly to the only two serious criticisms—those with respect to the Cantino map and Labrador. The remaining eighteen do not deserve attention here, their complete invalidity will be evident when my "Cartological material" is published.

My theory, which Dr. Biggar contests, is that the Cantino map of 1502 was the result of English surveys solely. The preliminary proof is based on the indubitable fact (pp. 3-5) that the Cantino coast line was made up of four surveys at least. The Cortereals made only two voyages to America up to 1502, so that two voyages must have been made by the English before that date. English priority of discovery is not asserted on my authority alone. Santa Cruz in 1541 wrote: "The Bachalaos [the Cantino coast line] where the Corte Reals went to colonize, and was first discovered by Antonio [John] Gaboto." The legend on the Thorne map of 1527 (p. 6) states priority more emphatically than even Santa Cruz does.

Dr. Biggar said in the *Canadian geographical journal* for February, 1932: "Before 1558 . . . whenever Labrador is mentioned, it refers . . . to . . . Greenland." According to his own argument in the *Journal*, this date should be carried back to at least 1531, for Mercator's "extra" Greenland was copied from Finæus. I can see no reason why the date should stop regressing before 1490—the date of the Martellus Greenland, from which map all Greenlands of the Mercator type spring. My view, if true, knocks the bottom out of Dr. Biggar's claim. Mercator's Fortune Island, which according to Dr. Biggar's theory, would be located near Cape Chidley, can be perfectly placed five hundred miles farther south in southern Labrador. Comment is superfluous. A comparison of the Mercator and Dudley maps (p. 36) shows absolutely, in

my opinion, that the Estotiland [Labrador] of Mercator is the present Labrador, and not Greenland. If my view is correct, it destroys Dr. Biggar's whole argument.

Kohl, Kretschmer, Dr. Biggar, and, in fact, all scholars so far have been deceived by the apparent likeness of Labrador to Greenland on early maps, when the Labrador coast line was *very much inverted*, as it was plotted on a compass course, not a true one. The normal compass variation at Cape Chidley would be 45 degrees, but Sir Wilfred Grenfell found it about 110 degrees. This is confirmed by Mr. Parsons, chief fur commissioner of the Hudson's Bay Company, who tells me that there are strong local magnetic influences at Cape Chidley and in Hudson Strait. A ship going due west appears to be moving due east by the compass. This confirms perfectly the statements about John Cabot's 1498 voyage in Galvano and other early chronicles.

THE CORN-COB PIPE OF THE INDIANS

(The following letter has been received from Mr. A. J. Clark of Richmond Hill, the vice-president of the Ontario Historical Society.) In the review of *Frankreichs Rote Kinder* on page 335 of the September number of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW the reviewer mentions that the author (Friederich Sieburg) can be forgiven for such an inaccuracy as "the Jesuit missionaries sharing a corn-cob pipe with the redskins". There is a possibility that he does not require forgiveness if the findings of history's staunch ally, archæology, are called to his defence. On August 2 of the present year, the writer was privileged to investigate part of an Indian village site in Huronia long known as Pottery Hill. It is located on the line of the old Penetanguishene road near the village of Craighurst, Simcoe County, Ontario. Among artifacts unearthed was a complete stem section of a pottery tobacco pipe made in the form of a cob of corn with five regularly spaced rows of protuberances representing the kernels. Mr. A. F. Hunter, referring also to pipe recoveries from the Huron country, scene of the labours of the Jesuit missionaries, in his memoir, *Huron village sites* (Toronto, 1907, p. 17), illustrates (figure 8) a pipe bowl showing exactly the same form of decoration.

Thus, while it may be erroneous to suppose that the pipe referred to belonged to the type made from the actual corn-cob, it is quite possible that the missionary fathers, provided they were smokers equal to the ordeal, could have shared a "corn-cob pipe with the redskins".

NOTES AND COMMENTS

By the death of Professor W. T. Waugh on October 17, Canada has lost her leading mediæval historian. In his public life and work, the three formative influences were the Moravians, Manchester, and McGill. At one time he intended to enter the Moravian ministry, and took his B.D. degree with that purpose in view. This religious affiliation helps to explain in part his deep interest in certain phases of church history, and in the development of central Europe. Thus two of his earliest studies dealt with "Sir John Oldcastle" and "Lollard knights", whilst in his volume just published, *A history of Europe 1378-1494*, ecclesiastical affairs in general and the Hussite movement in particular were given a detailed and loving treatment. His valuable articles in the *English historical review* on "Archbishop Peckham" and the "Great statute of praemunire" also reveal the same religious historical bent. Germany, moreover, bulked large in Waugh's outlook. He compiled brief histories of that country for the "People's books" and the "Nation's histories series". To the seventh volume of the *Cambridge mediæval history*, he recently contributed erudite chapters on Germany under Lewis the Bavarian and Charles IV, and earned the special thanks of the editors for writing at short notice (due to the death of another contributor) the second part of the chapter on Germany prior to 1314. His knowledge of Germany also enabled him to render valuable service during the War as a member of the War Trade Intelligence Department.

The second decisive factor in Waugh's life was his association with Manchester University. He was a product of its great School of Mediaeval History, created by Professors Tout and Tait. After a brilliant undergraduate career, he became a lecturer and, later, a reader in that institution. His mediæval predilections, his sound historical technique, and maybe his pungency of comment on men and movements can be attributed in a measure to his old master, Dr. Tout; in the volume of essays presented to the latter on his seventieth birthday, his grateful pupil supplied an able account of the "Administration of Normandy, 1420-2". Waugh's expert knowledge of the fifteenth century led to his choice as the historian invited to complete the monumental labours of Dr. J. H. Wylie on the reign of Henry V.

Meanwhile, in 1922, Professor Waugh had been brought into the Canadian environment at McGill, and three years later became head of the department of history. This experience broadened his outlook and stimulated his activity and productivity. A popular speaker in classroom and public halls, he delighted in bringing sound history in attractive form to the masses; his very last address a few days before his death (on "Humbug in history"!) was delivered to a teachers' convention, while the Montreal public will not soon forget his work as president of the Forum. In 1926, under the auspices of the I.O.D.E., he travelled across Canada, giving fine illustrated lectures which were subsequently expanded into his book, *James Wolfe: Man and soldier*. He himself made no professions to profound original researches on this topic, but the work

was a clever, fresh re-telling of the facts which had a very "good press" on both sides of the Atlantic. There is no need here to expatiate upon his activities in connection with the Canadian Historical Association, to whose proceedings he was a welcome contributor, and of whose council he was a member. For his services to scholarship, he was appointed a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. However, he did not live long to enjoy these honours, of which he was intensely proud. Whether he felt his end was near, at all events he speeded up his output, as already indicated; he also completed at least another article, on Joan of Arc, which will form part of a volume to be presented to his old teacher, Professor James Tait next spring in celebration of the latter's seventieth birthday. And now William Templeton Waugh himself in his forty-ninth year "is dead, dead ere his prime"; for, great as was his achievement, greater still was his promise. (A. E. PRINCE)

The REVIEW has received a number of comments both in newspapers and from individuals in appreciation of the article regarding the work of local historical societies which was printed in the September issue. It was desired through the article to draw attention to the valuable work which is being done by a number of local societies throughout the dominion and to offer some constructive comments and suggestions with respect to the important part which local history may play in the writing of general history. If the article makes some contribution to the enthusiasm and interest which is being put into the work of the local societies, its purpose will have been amply fulfilled. We are pleased to be able to print in each issue a number of items with respect to the activities of individual societies, the acquisitions of material to local archives and museums, the publication of articles, and other matters of interest. We are largely dependent on the secretaries of the local societies to furnish this information and we are pleased to receive items at any time. Two or three times each year a request is sent as a reminder to the secretary of each society. If any society has been inadvertently missed, we should be pleased to have the omission brought to our attention. These items have in themselves an interest for many of our readers but there is an additional reason for printing them in that they will constitute as time goes on a valuable record in brief of the work of the local societies in all parts of the country. It is hoped for that reason that the record may be as complete as possible.

The first article in this issue has been contributed by Mr. Menzies Whitelaw, a Canadian now on the staff of Rutgers College. Mr. Whitelaw has worked extensively on the movement towards Confederation and is bringing out a book on the subject in the near future. The article by Mr. W. S. Wallace of the University of Toronto throws light on a hitherto obscure phase of the history of the fur-trade. Mr. Wallace's article is based on materials obtained by him recently in the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company. The article on "Asiatic migrations into America" has been written by Mr. Marius Barbeau of Ottawa. Mr. Barbeau, whose work in several fields is widely known, is the ethnologist of the National Museum of Canada. We are indebted to Professor

A. R. M. Lower of Wesley College, Winnipeg, and to Mr. de la Fosse, the public librarian of Peterborough, Ontario, for contributions to the Notes and Documents section.

In addition to the graduate theses in Canadian history and economics included in the list published in the September issue of the REVIEW, we present this supplementary list:

At Harvard Mr. R. S. Longley (S.B. Acadia, 1921; A.M. Harvard, 1924) is preparing a Ph.D. thesis on "Sir Francis Hincks".

At the Law School of Harvard the following theses have recently been written:

A. J. CAMPBELL—Advisory opinions in Canada.

J. F. DAVISON—Judicial power and administrative control in the Dominion of Canada.

CHARLES GAVSIE—Taxing boards and the courts in the Dominion of Canada.

R. A. MACDOUGALL—Workmen's Compensation Board of Ontario.

M. M. MACINTYRE—A study of the liquor control boards in the Canadian provinces.

At Columbia University the Master's degree was presented in 1932 for the following theses:

BERTHA CARPENTER—Loyalism in North Carolina.

R. L. CURRIE—From the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, 1610-1673.

NELLIE HARSH—The ideas of Charles Buller regarding imperial relations.

FLORENCE HORTON—Annapolis Royal under French rule.

JOHN M. KILGORE—American capital movements into Canada after the World War, 1919-1929.

CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The *Canadian Political Science Association*, revived in 1929-30, has for its object the "encouragement of the investigation and study of political, economic and social problems". Its membership is not confined to the professional economist but is open to all those interested in the national problems with which the association deals. The *Papers and proceedings* of the fourth annual meeting, 1932, have recently been published. President, E. J. Urwick, University of Toronto; secretary, S. A. Cudmore, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa.

The *Champlain Society* has just published John McLean's *Notes of a twenty-five years' service in Hudson's Bay territories*, edited by W. Stewart Wallace.

Elgin Historical Society. On Saturday, September 24, the Elgin Historical Society held a most interesting meeting at Colonel Talbot's old home, the Rev. Principal Dobson of Alma Ladies' College, presiding. The most important feature of the programme was a valuable paper by the secretary, Miss Ella N. Lewis, setting forth the history of the house and its growth. Her findings, which were based on old maps, pictures, records, and books of travel, were corroborated in an address by Mr. John Sanders, whose grandfather had possession of the estate after the colonel's death. Extracts from "The Talbot Road", a poem published in 1820 by the Rev. Adam Hood Burwell, a brother of Colonel Burwell, after whom Port Burwell is named, were read by the president of the Ontario Historical Society, who gave a brief account of Mr. Burwell's career.

Historical Association of Annapolis Royal. At the annual meeting of this association held on Monday evening, November 7, last year's officers were re-elected for next year. President, L. M. Fortier, Annapolis Royal; secretary, Miss H. L. Hardy, Annapolis Royal.

On August 18, 1932, Mr. L. M. Fortier presided at the ceremony of unveiling a monument to Jean Paul Mascarene placed in the Fort Anne grounds by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. A paper about the work accomplished by the Board and about Mascarene was read by Professor D. C. Harvey, the provincial archivist, a member of the Board and an honorary life member of this association. A tablet honouring the memory of the last French commander of the fort of Port Royal, Daniel Auger de Subercase, will be placed on the outside front wall of the Museum of Fort Anne this year, the 200th anniversary of the death of Subercase. It will not, however, be unveiled until next year. Among the recent acquisitions to the museum is a very fine specimen of a Butler and Henderson clock, manufactured in Annapolis Royal about one hundred years ago—the gift of Mr. P. B. Motley of Montreal. (H.L.H.)

Ontario Historical Society. On Thursday, October 27, there was unveiled at the Parliament Buildings, Toronto, under the auspices of the Ontario Historical Society, a tablet provided by the Dominion Sites and Monuments Board in commemoration of the public services of Lieutenant General Sir Gordon Drummond, K.C.B., administrator of the government of Upper Canada and commander of the forces therein from 1813 to 1815. Prayers were said by the provost of Trinity College; Principal Grant of Upper Canada College and Brigadier-General E. A. Cruikshank, chairman of the Board, and the Honourable George S. Henry, premier of the province, delivered addresses, General Cruikshank giving a clear account of the campaigns of 1813 and 1814 and claiming for Sir Gordon the merit of having been the saviour of Upper Canada. Mrs. Henry very graciously performed the act of unveiling. Sentries were provided by the Toronto Regiment, which is allied to the King's which was at one time Sir Gordon's corps. It is worthy of remark that among those present was Captain F. S. Drummond, R.L., of Niagara-on-the-Lake, a collateral descendant of Sir Gordon.

Société Historique de Montréal. Secretary, Napoléon Brisebois, 1931 rue Centre, Montreal.

The United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada have published an interesting, well-documented pamphlet compiled by Horace Hume Van Wart, entitled "A brief outline of the United Empire Loyalist movement with a short history of the present association".

Women's Canadian Historical Society. Under the auspices of the society a tablet to Etienne Brulé has been erected on the west bank of the Humber River in Toronto.

The York Pioneer and Historical Society has published its annual report for the year 1931 which contains reports, extracts from papers read before the society, an interesting article on "Pioneer life in Ontario" by E. M. Gundy, and the constitution and by-laws of the society. President, Levi E. Annis, Scarboro, Ontario; secretary, N. F. Caswell, 148 King Street West, Toronto.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a later and more extended review.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

ANAGOSTE. *La Conférence d'Ottawa* (Flambeau, juillet, 1932, pp. 116-121).

BORCK, FRITZ. *Die Industrialisierung der Britischen Dominions und die Rückwirkung auf ihre weltwirtschaftliche Stellung* (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv, Kiel, April, 1932, pp. 536-584). A consideration of the development of industry in the British dominions in recent times, including several years before the Great War.

BUCHANAN, E. C. *Canada gets her share* (Canadian magazine, October, 1932, pp. 3, 26-29). An account of the course and results of the Economic Conference from a Canadian point of view.

BURON, EDMOND. *Où va le Canada?* (Deuxième article) (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, II (4), octobre-décembre, 1932, pp. 434-452). An examination of Canada's constitutional and international position as a member of the British Commonwealth.

Canada: I. *Personalities at the Imperial Conference* (Round table, no. 88, September, 1932, pp. 853-862). An introduction to the personnel of the Conference at Ottawa.

CARRINGTON, R. N. *Ottawa and after*, III (Empire review, no. 381, October, 1932, pp. 219-223). A general review of the results of the Conference with special reference to Australia, written by the special commissioner for the Australian United Press.

CHEVALLIER, J. J. *L'évolution du statut de dominion* (Revue générale de droit international public, July-August, 1932).

La Conférence d'Ottawa (Le mois, juin-juillet, 1932, pp. 85-94). Speculations on the Economic Conference and its chances of success.

La Conférence d'Ottawa (Revue d'histoire des colonies, no. 4, juillet-août, 1932, pp. 380-382). Observations on the Conference as an illustration of the trend of imperial relations.

CROFT, Sir HENRY PAGE. *Ottawa and after*, I (Empire review, no. 381, October, 1932, pp. 208-213). A brief summing up of the results and achievements of the Conference, by the chairman of the executive of the Empire Industries Association.

DAY, J. P. *Empire currency proposals* (Papers and proceedings of the fourth annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, IV, pp. 151-158). Remarks on the problem of an imperial currency and the stability of inter-imperial exchanges.

DECKER, GEORG. *Wiedergeburt des englischen Imperialismus* (Die Gesellschaft, März, 1932, pp. 209-222). A consideration of British fiscal policy and the Ottawa Conference.

FAIRGRIEVE, JAMES and YOUNG, ERNEST. *The Imperial Commonwealth*. (Fairgrieve and Young's human geography.) 2 volumes. London: British Books Limited. Pp. 320; 321-640. (52s. 6d.) A survey of the various countries of the empire. The volumes deal with discovery, settlement, industry, local resources, customs, climate, and agriculture, as well as with racial and economic questions.

FISHER, Mrs. H. A. L. *A brief survey of the British Empire*. London: Oxford University Press. 1932. Pp. 112. (45 cents) A short and graphic account of the history of the empire and a description of its component parts. The book forms an excellent, elementary introduction for school-children.

- GRIGG, SIR EDWARD. *Ottawa: Ex occidente lux* (National review, no. 594, August, 1932, pp. 175-181). A brief comment on some material factors (war debts, prices, monetary reform, etc.) which should exercise influence at Ottawa.
- GUYOT, EDOUARD. *La Conférence d'Ottawa, pierre de touche de l'empire* (Europe nouvelle, 18 juin, 1932, pp. 763-764).
- HARRIS, HARRY H. *The Imperial Economic Conference (a discussion)*. Montreal: The author, McGill Building. 1932. Pp. 16. Arguments against a British Empire tariff and the new imperialism of which it is an example.
- HAUSHOFER, A.: *Gestaltwandel des Empire* (Zeitschrift fuer Geopolitik, Berlin, September, 1932, pp. 513-16)? A short discussion about the Ottawa Conference and its possible effect on the empire.
- HIRST, FRANCIS W. *Ottawa, II. A Liberal view* (Nineteenth century, CXII (668), October, 1932, pp. 408-418). An analysis of the Ottawa agreements, an assessment of their advantages and disadvantages to Great Britain, and a statement of the case for free trade.
- HIRST, W. A. *Some home truths for Ottawa* (Empire review, no. 379, August, 1932, pp. 94-100). Some retrospective and prospective comments on British trade and prestige.
- HOBHOUSE, SIR CHARLES. *Ottawa* (Contemporary review, 142 (802), October, 1932, pp. 393-404). A critical discussion of the Ottawa Conference and a statement of the conclusion that Great Britain was outgeneralled by the dominions.
- HODSON, H. V. *Before Ottawa* (Foreign affairs, X (4), July, 1932, pp. 589-599). A preview of the prospects of the Ottawa Conference and a discussion of fiscal preference.
- HUGHES, Rt. Hon. W. M. *The empire in conference* (Empire review, no. 379, August, 1932, pp. 77-80). A defence of imperial economic union.
- Imperial Economic Conference—1932* (Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association, XL (1), 1932, pp. 55-59). The report of the committee on monetary and financial questions.
- INGHAM, J. CLARENCE. *Inter-empire trade* (Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association, XL (1), October, 1932, pp. 60-67). A prize essay discussing the historical aspect, the possibilities, the dangers, and the advantages of inter-empire trade.
- JEBB, RICHARD. *Ottawa. I. A retrospect* (Nineteenth century, CXII (668), October, 1932, pp. 396-407). A consideration of the work of the Conference as an outstanding event in the future history of the British Commonwealth.
- *Ottawa: 1894 and 1932* (Nineteenth century, CXII (665), July, 1932, pp. 1-14). An attempt to analyse the conditions of the impending Conference and to suggest some possible results.
- "JOHANN", A. E.: *Kanada und Ottawa* (Zeitschrift fuer Geopolitik, Berlin, September, 1932, pp. 517-524). The author comes to the conclusion that as between Canada and Great Britain, Canada got the best of the bargain at Ottawa. The dominion, he thinks, will always be economically more allied to the United States than to the rest of the empire. He is quite sound in his estimate of the attitude of Canadian textile manufacturers to the motherland. Canada does not share equally with the United States all geographical features (p. 512); thus the great Laurentian Shield is essentially a Canadian geological feature (of which the small spurs in the United States are comparatively insignificant), and to such an extent that it is perhaps on the shield and immediately along its fringe the most typical Canadian culture may develop, and hence the shield may become the cultural nucleus of the country, just as it is the geological nucleus. The statements (p. 523) are too

sweeping that "English competition is excluded from Canada by the Ottawa agreement, but export of Canadian raw products to England are facilitated; that Canada has tied the Motherland economically closer to the Dominion without conceding any important counter-favours: a proof that England has less right than ever to consider herself the power centre of the Empire." But the statements correctly interpret the impression made on Central Europe by the results of the Ottawa Conference. (LOUIS HAMILTON)

KRAUTKOPF, SIEGFRIED. *Die Gestaltung des Britischen Weltreichs nach den jüngsten Reichskonferenzen* (Frankfurter Abhandlungen zum Modernen Völkerrecht, (19), 1930, pp. viii, 113).

MACDONALD, PETER. *Ottawa and after*. II (Empire review, no. 381, October, 1932, pp. 214-218). A review of, and answer to, the adverse criticism of the Conference, by the secretary of the Committee on Imperial Affairs in the House of Commons.

MACKAY, ROBERT A. *Imperial economics at Ottawa* (Pacific affairs, V (10), October, 1932, pp. 873-885). A partial summary of the results of the Conference, and some discussion of the motives and influences which brought them about.

The problem of a Commonwealth tribunal (Papers and proceedings of the Canadian Political Science Association, IV, pp. 68-81). A consideration of the whole question of a British Commonwealth tribunal, and of the theoretical difficulties involved in the creation and workings of such a tribunal.

MAHAFFY, ROBERT P. *The Statute of Westminster, 1931*. With an introduction, notes and index. With a foreword by the Right Hon. Sir JOHN SIMON. London: Butterworth and Co. 1932. Pp. xi, 19. To be reviewed later.

MANNING, C. A. W. *The policies of the British dominions in the League of Nations*. (Publications of the Graduate Institute of International Studies, no. 3.) London: Oxford University Press. 1932. Pp. 159. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.

MERCER, Sir W. H. (comp). *The dominions office and colonial office list for 1932*. London: Waterlow and Sons. 1932. Pp. 870.

MORGAN, Sir BENJAMIN. *The Ottawa Economic Conference: Historic achievement of its deliberations* (United Empire, XXIII (9), September, 1932, pp. 491-492). A very general résumé of the achievements of the Ottawa Conference.

N., R. *La préparation de la Conférence d'Ottawa* (Europe nouvelle, 25 juin, 1932, pp. 782-783).

NÉRON, EDOUARD. *La protection douanière britannique* (Revue politique et parlementaire, 10 janvier, 1932, pp. 5-22). A discussion of British fiscal protection.

The Ottawa Conference (Dalhousie review, XII (3), October, 1932, pp. 393-396). An editorial comment on the Conference.

Ottawa: Interim reflections (Round table, no. 88, September, 1932, pp. 721-725). Reflections by a correspondent on the tendencies revealed during the first part of the Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa.

A plan of action embodying a series of reports issued by the Research Committee of the Empire Economic Union and other papers, together with an introduction by the Rt. Hon. L. S. AMERY. London: Faber and Faber Limited. 1932. Pp. viii, 280. (15s.) To be reviewed later.

SALTER, Sir ARTHUR. *The conferences of this year* (Political quarterly, III (4), October-December, 1932, pp. 467-488). A comment on the conferences, recent and prospective, at Geneva, Lausanne, Ottawa, and London.

STANNARD, HAROLD. *Ottawa and recovery* (Fortnightly review, no. 790, n.s., October, 1932, pp. 445-454). An estimate of the contribution which the Ottawa Conference has made to the world's economic reconstruction.

- STEVENS, G. R. *Problems of the Ottawa Conference*. Cape Town and Johannesburg: Juta. 1932. Pp. 53.
- TARDY, MAURICE. *La marine britannique: les dominions et les bases navales* (Revue de France, 12^e année, no. 14, 15 juillet, 1932, pp. 222-246). Considers separately the dominions with regard to their respective navies.
- TREUHERZ, WALTER. *Greater Britain* (Preussische Jahrbücher, 226 (3), December, 1931, pp. 270-279). Reflections on the economic structure of the British Commonwealth.
- TURNOR, CHRISTOPHER. *Ottawa and agriculture* (Nineteenth century, CXII (665), July, 1932, pp. 15-24). A consideration of various points for discussion at Ottawa, not only as they affect inter-empire trade, but as they affect exchange between England and foreign countries.
- WEST, ARTHUR G. B. *Ottawa and empire migration* (Nineteenth century, CXII (666), August, 1932, pp. 169-179). A critical discussion of Lord Astor's Committee on Empire Migration.

II. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

- Alaska: Facts about the population, government, resources, commerce and history of America's last frontier*. Ketchikan: The Alaska Chronicle. 1932. Pp. 82. (50 cents) A series of questions and answers relating to Alaska, forming a handbook of useful and accessible data.
- Archives of British Honduras*. Volume I. *From the earliest date to A.D. 1800*. Edited with historical note by Major JOHN ALDER BURDON. London: Sifton Praed and Company. Pp. xv, 304. The publication of this well-printed and well-arranged volume is due to the industry and public spirit of the late governor, Sir J. A. Burdon. It is the result of much patient research and has an appropriate introduction by Professor A. P. Newton. It should interest Canadians to know that Lieutenant-Colonel Peter Hunter, afterwards the second lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, being on leave in England from his command of Fort Niagara, in 1789, was selected by the colonial secretary to adjust the dissensions among the inhabitants of that colony and accomplished his difficult task most acceptably. (E. A. CRUIKSHANK)
- COTTER, H. M. S. *The great Labrador gale, 1885* (Beaver, no. 2, September, 1932, pp. 81-84). A description of a great storm on the Labrador coast and of the ships that were wrecked.
- DUHR, BERNARD. *The Columbus problem* (Mid-America, XV, n.s. IV (1) July, 1932, pp. 27-44). An estimate of Columbus and a review of the literature concerning him.
- Economic conditions in Newfoundland to 1931*. London: Department of Overseas Trade. 1931. Statistical facts.
- FALCONBRIDGE, JOHN D. *Conflict of laws as to nullity and divorce*. [1932] 4 D.L.R. Pp. 1-51. This is a learned discussion by an international authority on divorce and nullity of marriage. It is of special interest on account of the light which it throws on the Canadian situation, especially in connection with Ontario and with the wife's domicile. (W.P.M.K.)
- FLEMING, DENNA FRANK. *The United States and the League of Nations*. New York: Putnam's Sons. 1932. Pp. ix, 559. (\$5.00) This book is a fascinating account of one of the most important issues in the contemporary politics of the United States of America. It covers the period 1918-20 during which President Wilson and Senator Lodge fought their dramatic battle over America's participation in the League of Nations. The results of this battle have already proved momentous and if the League disintegrates as it very well may, this should head the list of

"Great battles of the world". Even if the League survives, the fact that the United States of America failed to give it support has greatly weakened its effectiveness and will continue to do so. Mr. Fleming includes so many extracts from speeches, debates, newspapers, and other contemporary sources and has done his work so skilfully that the book is unusually interesting. (N. McK.)

FRANKFURTER, FELIX, and DAVISON, J. F. *Cases and other materials on administrative law*. New York: The Corporation Trust Company. 1932. Pp. xvi, 1177. A first-class case book. While largely concerned with American cases, it contains some important cases dealing with administrative law in Canada and the British Empire. (W.P.M.K.)

GREY OWL. *The men of the last frontier*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Company. 1932. Pp. xiii, 253. (\$3.50) "Grey Owl" is a half-breed Indian who has spent his life as a trapper, fire-ranger, and guide. In recent years he has been particularly interested in the preservation of the beaver and his efforts in that direction have been recognized by the Canadian government. This book, which deals principally with Canadian wild life, gives an extraordinarily vivid picture of life and conditions in the Canadian northland. It is illustrated with photographs and with fascinating pencil sketches by the author.

HAMILTON, LOUIS. *Beispiele in der englischen Geschichte von zuruckerstatteten Kolonialgebieten* (Sonderdruck aus *Koloniale Rundschau*, Heft 7/8, vom 20 August, 1932). Mr. Hamilton disproves the thesis that England has never handed back conquered colonial possessions to European powers.

HANTZSCH, BERNHARD. *Contributions to the knowledge of extreme north-eastern Labrador* (Canadian field-naturalist, September, 1931, pp. 143-146; October, 1931, pp. 169-174; November, 1931, pp. 194-204; December, 1931, pp. 222-224). Facts concerning a little-known part of the Labrador peninsula.

HEILBRON, BERTHA L. (ed.). *With pen and pencil on the frontier in 1851. The diary and sketches of FRANK BLACKWELL MAYER*. Saint Paul: The Minnesota Historical Society. 1932. Pp. xii, 214. (\$2.50) Reviewed on page 447.

MACDONALD, WILLIAM. *Newfoundland in distress* (Current history, May, 1932, pp. 225-227). An outline in brief of Newfoundland's present political, economic, and financial difficulties.

MARJORIBANKS, EDWARD. *The life of Lord Carson*. With a preface by the Rt. Hon. Viscount HAILSHAM. London: Victor Gollancz. 1932. Pp. vii, 455. Contains a chapter on the Alaska boundary case. To be reviewed later.

PEARCE, BRUCE M. *First grand master: A biography of William Mercer Wilson, first grand master of the Grand Lodge of Canada A.F. and A.M.* Simcoe, Ontario: The Pearce Publishing Company. 1932. Pp. 189. Reviewed on page 448.

REID, EDITH GITTINGS. *The great physician: A short life of Sir William Osler*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1931. Pp. 293. (\$3.50) A biography of a very distinguished Canadian doctor.

SILBERSCHMIDT, MAX. *Großbritannien und die Vereinigten Staaten. Ihr machtpolitisches Verhältnis vom amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskrieg bis zum Weltkrieg*. Leipzig und Berlin: B. G. Teubner. 1932. Pp. viii, 82. A study in Anglo-American relations.

(2) New France

The Battle of Carillon: Account of the victory won by the royal troops at Carillon on the 8th day of July, 1758 (Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, II (2), July, 1930, pp. 69-76). An account translated from a contemporary French report in the Fort Ticonderoga Museum.

- BIGGAR, H. P. (ed.). *The works of Samuel de Champlain*. Volume III, 1615-1618. Translated and edited by H. H. Langton and W. F. Ganong. The French texts collated by J. Home Cameron. Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1929. Pp. xv, 418. To be reviewed later.
- BURKHOLDER, MABEL. *Madame la Tour*. (Ryerson Canadian history readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. n.d. Pp. 31. (10 cents) The story of the life in Acadia of Françoise Marie Jacquin, wife of Charles Saint-Étienne de la Tour.
- BURON, EDMOND. *L'odyssée de Jean-Baptiste Couture* (Canada français, XX (1), septembre, 1932, pp. 39-43). The tale of a child abandoned in New France.
- Documents sur la famille Bouat* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (11), novembre, 1932, pp. 699-702). Documents copied from the Archives of the Province of Quebec.
- La famille Cantin* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (9), septembre, 1932, pp. 513-514). Genealogical notes.
- La famille Laqueux* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (10), octobre, 1932, pp. 577-579). A genealogy.
- FYERS, EVAN W. H. *The loss and recapture of St. John's, Newfoundland, in 1762* (Society for Army Historical Research, XI (43), July, 1932, pp. 179-200). A sketch of the operations in and around Newfoundland during the closing year of the Seven Year's War, of the organisation and leadership of the force which recovered St. John's, and of the history of the Amherst family.
- Le Gouverneur de Beauharnois et les Iroquois des Cinq-Cantons* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (10), octobre, 1932, pp. 626-630). The speech of the Indians to, and the reply of, the Marquis de Beauharnois in 1741. Transcribed from the Archives of Quebec.
- Le Gouverneur de Vaudreuil et les Abénaquis* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (9), septembre, 1932, pp. 569-572). The speech of the Abénaquis to the Marquis de Vaudreuil on September 14, 1706, and Vaudreuil's response. From the Quebec Archives.
- LA CHAPELLE, BARON DE. *Le Baron Pierre Passerat de la Chapelle* (Nova Francia, VII (4), janvier-juin, 1932, pp. 81-135). Notes and documents concerning Pierre Passerat de la Chapelle who served in Canada under Montcalm and Lévis from 1756 to 1760.
- LEBLANT, ROBERT. *Daniel d'Auger de Subercase, gouverneur de Plaisance (1703-1705)* (Nova Francia, VII (1), janvier-juin, 1932, pp. 1-80). A biography (with documents) which forms a history of Newfoundland in the early part of the eighteenth century.
- LE JEUNE, LOUIS. *Le chevalier Pierre Le Moyne, sieur d'Iberville: première campagne: à la baie James* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, II (4), octobre-décembre, 1932, pp. 453-472). The story, taken from contemporary sources, of Iberville's campaign of 1686-1689.
- MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Chirurgiens, médecins et apothicaires sous le régime français (nouvelles notes)* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (9), septembre, 1932, pp. 515-522). A list with biographical notes.
- *Histoire du fief de Maricourt* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (10), octobre, 1932, pp. 631-633). A chronological account.
- *La première herboriste canadienne* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (11), novembre, 1932, pp. 643-646). Items about Catherine Gertrude Jérémie, 1664-1744.

MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *La verbalisation des premières rues de Montréal* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (10), octobre, 1932, pp. 610-621). Interesting notes on Montreal streets when Canada was New France.

Mémoire des remarques que le Chevalier Daux a faites pendant deux ans et demy qu'il a esté prisonnier dans la Nouvelle Angleterre, lequel avoit été envoyé par Monsieur de Frontenac pour traiter avec les Iroquois (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (9), septembre, 1932, pp. 550-552). From a copy in the Archives of the Province of Quebec.

Mémoire instructif sur la Nouvelle-Angleterre et Nouvelle-York présenté à Monsieur le Comte de Frontenac (1692) (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (9), septembre, 1932, pp. 555-564). An unsigned memoir. Copy in the Archives of Quebec.

MERRILL, ETHEL OWEN. *Henri de Tonty* (Mid-America, XV, n.s. IV (2), October, 1932, pp. 80-101). An appreciative life of La Salle's faithful companion.

Paroles des Sonontouans à M. le Marquis de Beauharnois, gouverneur général de la Nouvelle-France du 17 juillet, 1742 (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (11), novembre, 1932, pp. 659-667). Transcribed from the Archives of the Province of Quebec.

Pièces sur Louis-Antoine de Lusignan (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (10), octobre, 1932, pp. 580-609). Original documents concerning the Sieur de Lusignan.

PINCOTT, K. E. *What Churchill owes to a woman* (Beaver, no. 2, September, 1932, pp. 100-103). The story of an Indian woman who acted as a guide and interpreter to an English expedition to the northern Indians in 1715.

Poste des Miamis et de la Rivière Blanche (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (10), octobre, 1932, pp. 636-639). From Archives des Colonies, C 11 E 13. Communiqué par M. Claude de Bonnauld.

Un recensement de l'Acadie en 1686 (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (11), novembre, 1932, pp. 677-696). "Recensement fait par M. De Meulles intendant de la Nouvelle-France de tous les peuples de Beaubassin, Rivière St.-Jean, Port-Royal, Isle Percée, et autres côtes de l'Acadie, s'y étant lui-même transporté dans chacune des habitations au commencement de l'année 1686."

RIDDELL, WILLIAM RENWICK. *Chevalier Charles de Raymond on the posts in French Canada* (Ontario Historical Society, papers and records, XXVIII, 1932, pp. 140-142). An account of the French posts in North America taken from the *Mémoire sur les postes du Canada par le Chevalier de Raymond* published by M. Aegidius Fauteux (Quebec, 1929).

Last official report on the French posts in the northern part of North America (Ontario Historical Society, papers and records, XXVIII, 1932, pp. 132-139). A document translated from the *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, July, 1931.

SCHAAF, IDA M. *The founding of Ste. Genevieve, Missouri* (Mid-America, XV, n.s. IV (1), July, 1932, pp. 45-49). An account of the founding by the French of the first permanent settlement west of the Mississippi River.

SEARY, V. P. *The Acadians* (Ryerson Canadian history readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1932. Pp. 32. (10 cents) A short, vivid account of the expulsion of the Acadians.

SURVEYER, ÉDOUARD FABRE. *La procédure civile au Canada jusqu'à 1679* (Report of the Canadian Historical Association, 1932, pp. 29-42). A detailed, historical account of civil procedure in New France up to the edict of 1679.

WILLIAMS, HELEN E. *Count de Frontenac* (Ryerson Canadian history readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. n.d. Pp. 32. (10 cents) A simple, lively biography for school-children.

(3) British North America before 1867

ALLEY, H. R. *The Loyal Provincial Regiments: Notes on their uniforms during the War of Separation, 1775-1783* (Loyalist gazette, II (11), August, 1932, p. 5). Notes on the uniforms of the Loyalist regiments.

The Amherst expedition: Extract from Captain Moneypenny's orderly book (Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, II (6), July, 1932, pp. 219-252). Extracts dated Fort William Henry to Crown Point, July 15, 1759, to August 3, 1759, 55th Regiment of Foot (British Army). These orderly books are in the Fort Ticonderoga Museum.

AUDET, FRANCIS J. *The Honourable Thomas McKay, M.L.C., founder of New Edinburgh, 1792-1855* (Report of the Canadian Historical Association, 1932, pp. 65-79). A miscellany of information about one of the founders of Bytown, contractor of the Lachine Canal, builder of Rideau Hall and Earncliffe, etc. etc.

BINGHAM, ROBERT W. *The cradle of the queen city: A history of Buffalo to the incorporation of the city* (Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, volume XXXI.) Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society. 1931. Pp. [xiii], 504. To be reviewed later.

BROSNAN, CORNELIUS J. *Jason Lee, prophet of the new Oregon*. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1932. Pp. 348. (\$3.00) The biography of a missionary to the Indians of the Pacific North-west. The volume is of interest to students of the history of old Oregon in the days of the Hudson's Bay Company.

BROWN, PRICE. *Laura the undaunted: A Canadian historical romance*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. Pp. 279. A romance which contains pictures of the life and difficulties of the early settlers in Ontario, of the events which led to the War of 1812, and of the background of the war itself.

BURPEE, LAWRENCE. *Two western adventurers: Alexander Henry and Peter Pond* (Ryerson Canadian history readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1929. Pp. 28. (10 cents) Two brief biographies written in a very simple and readable form.

CARD, RAYMOND. *General Wolfe, a one-act play*. Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1931. Pp. 28. (35 cents) A short play woven around the capture of Quebec.

CAREY, CHARLES H. *Lee, Waller and McLoughlin* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXIII (3), September, 1932, pp. 187-213). The story of the Rev. Jason Lee's conduct in promoting the plan of the Rev. Alvin F. Waller, Methodist missionary, to get title to the land covered by the John McLoughlin land claim at Oregon City.

CHISHOLM, J. A. *Hitherto unpublished letters of Joseph Howe* (Dalhousie review, XII (3), October, 1932, pp. 309-314). Extracts from some early letters of Joseph Howe, written in 1824, 1826, 1827, and 1829.

Un conseiller de ville de Québec, amiral britannique (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (11), novembre, 1932, pp. 641-642). Notes on Edward Boxer (1783-1855).

CRUIKSHANK, E. A. *The genesis of the Canada Act* (Ontario Historical Society, papers and records, XXVIII, 1932, pp. 155-327). See review on page 449.

DOUGLAS, Mrs. G. K. and MACKENZIE, Mrs. HUGH (comps.) *An historic map of York*. Toronto. 1932. An interesting map showing the community of York, with the leading points of historic interest presented graphically.

- ELLIOTT, T. C. (ed.). *David Thompson's journeys in the Pend Oreille country* (Washington historical quarterly, XXIII (3), July, 1932, pp. 173-176). This is the third and final of three journals kept by David Thompson during his travels in 1809, 1810, and 1811 through what is now Pend Oreille County, Washington State.
- Extract from Captain Monypenny's orderly book, June 30th to July 7th, 1758* (Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, II (2), July, 1930, pp. 56-67). Military notes kept at Lake George camp in 1758, on the two days before the battle at Ticonderoga.
- FLEMING, R. H. *Phyn, Ellice and Company of Schenectady* (Contributions to Canadian economics, IV, 1932, pp. 7-41). The history of the North West Company is traced back to one of its main roots. The article is important "in showing the place of the St. Lawrence in the development of business organization in North America, the significance of London as a trade centre, and the conditions which gave rise to the peculiar elastic character of Northwest Company organization".
- GARLAND, M. A. (ed.). *The Proudfoot papers, 1834-35* (Ontario Historical Society, papers and records, XXVIII, 1932, pp. 71-113). The present extract from the journal of the Rev. William Proudfoot begins September 7, 1834, and concludes May 15, 1835, at a time when Mr. Proudfoot was proceeding to the United States to collect funds with which to complete the building of the church in London. This portion in the main covers a visitation of the churches under the care of the missionary presbytery.
- HARVEY, D. C. *Joseph Howe*. (Ryerson Canadian History readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1926. Pp. 32. (10 cents) Scenes from the life of Joseph Howe by one of the leading authorities on Maritime history.
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- Machias and the invasion of Nova Scotia* (Report of the Canadian Historical Association, 1932, pp. 17-28). An account of the organized activity against Nova Scotia during the American Revolution in the little frontier town of Machias in Massachusetts.
- HILL, HAMNETT P. *Lieutenant-Colonel John By—A biography* (Engineering journal, August, 1931, pp. 452-453). Biographical notes concerning the engineer of the Rideau Canal.
- L'hon. A.-N. Morin en 1837-1838* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (9), septembre, 1932, pp. 523-540). Documents concerning the arrest of Mr. Morin for high treason.
- HOWAY, F. W. *Captain George Vancouver*. (Ryerson Canadian history readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1932. Pp. 32. (10 cents) This brief biography written primarily for children is an excellent example of the method followed in the Ryerson history readers of combining picturesque romance with real historical research and scholarship.
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- An outline sketch of the maritime fur trade* (Report of the Canadian Historical Association, 1932, pp. 5-14). A sketch of the maritime fur-trade on the North-west coast of America from 1785 to 1825.
- INNES, A. D. *The maritime and colonial expansion of England under the Stuarts (1603-1714)*. London: Sampson Low. 1932. Pp. xii, 376. (12s. 6d.) To be reviewed later.
- Journal of the commissioners for trade and plantations from January 1741-2 to December, 1749, Preserved in the Public Record Office*. London: H.M.S.O. 1931. Pp. 510. (£1. 12s. 6d.) Approximately one-fifth of this volume describes the settlement of Nova Scotia. Estimates are given of the number of settlers, and the provisions made for their health and comfort, as well as the names of the ships that were to bring them to America.

- KARRAKER, CYRUS H. *A treasure expedition of William Phips* (New England quarterly, V (4), October, 1932, pp. 731-752). An account of Phips's treasure expedition on the *Rose of Argier* to the Bahama Banks.
- KENNEY, JAMES F. *The genealogy of Charles Lawrence, governor of Nova Scotia* (Report of the Canadian Historical Association, 1932, pp. 81-86). A careful and detailed investigation into the genealogy and family history of Charles Lawrence, which makes clear that the hitherto accepted information has been far astray.
- LEADER, HERMAN A. *McLoughlin's answer to Warre report* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXVIII (3), September, 1932, pp. 214-229). This document is McLoughlin's answer to the criticisms of his policy in Oregon in the report of Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour to the British government (1845).
- Lettre de Louis-Joseph Papineau à John Neilson* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (9), septembre, 1932, pp. 574-576). A letter dated Montreal, April 30, 1825. Original in the Sulpician Library in Montreal.
- LEWIS, JANET. *The invasion: A narrative of events concerning the Johnston family of St. Mary's*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1932. Pp. 356. (\$2.00) The story of the Johnston family of St. Mary's, in the days of the coming of the first traders to the lake country beyond the Sault. To be reviewed later.
- List of all the officers of his majesty's provincial forces in North America arranged to the date of their appointments with their rank in the army for 1782* (Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, II (5), January, 1932, pp. 173-202). A classified list, with some illustrations of uniforms.
- A list of officers and soldiers killed and wounded at Ticonderoga, 8th July, 1758* (Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, II (2), July, 1930, pp. 76-78). A list from a contemporary report in the Library of the Museum.
- LONG, MORDEN H. *Sir John Franklin*. (Ryerson Canadian history readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1930. Pp. 28. (10 cents) The story of Franklin's Arctic explorations.
- Lord Howe* (Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, II (2), July, 1930, pp. 46-54). The available documentary evidence on the last resting place of Lord Howe.
- The Loyalist regiments: British provincial troops raised in America, 1775-1783* (Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, II (5), January, 1932, pp. 170-173). A list with brief notes.
- MCCARTUR, DUNCAN. *The British Board of Trade and Canada, 1760-1774* (Report of the Canadian Historical Association, 1932, pp. 97-113). An excellent paper which expresses some very interesting opinions in opposition to those of the late C. W. Alvord with respect to the Proclamation of 1763.
- MARQUIS, A. S. *Dr. John McLoughlin (the great white eagle)*. (Ryerson Canadian history readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1929. Pp. 31. (10 cents) A brief life, for children, of "the father of the Pacific coast".
- MARQUIS, T. G. *Hon. Alexander Mackenzie*. (Ryerson Canadian history readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1930. Pp. 31. (10 cents) A brief life of one of the great Canadian statesmen of the nineteenth century.
- MARTIN, W. *Lord Selkirk*. (Ryerson Canadian history readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1926. Pp. 31. (10 cents) An elementary biography.
- MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Deux personnages du Comté de Terrebonne* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (11), novembre, 1932, pp. 703-704). A question of the identity of Simon Fraser, doctor of the village of Terrebonne.

- MEANY, EDMONDS S. (ed.). *Diary of Dr. W. F. Tolmie* (Washington historical quarterly, XXIII (3), July, 1932, pp. 205-227). Extracts from the private journal of Dr. W. F. Tolmie of the Hudson's Bay Company pertaining to the portion of the country about Forts Vancouver and Nisqually in 1833.
- MEYER, LELAND WINFIELD. *The life and times of Colonel Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1932. Pp. 508. (\$5.50) Reviewed on page 447.
- MOLONEY, FRANCIS X. *The fur trade in New England, 1620-1676*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1931. Pp. 150. To be reviewed later.
- MORTON, A. S. *David Thompson*. (Ryerson Canadian history readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1930. Pp. 32. (10 cents) A brief and vivid summary of the salient points of David Thompson's career.
- PARTRIDGE, BELLAMY. *Sir Billy Howe*. London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1932. Pp. xiii, 301. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.
- PIERCE, LORNE. *Thomas Chandler Haliburton (Sam Slick)*. (Ryerson Canadian history readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1932. Pp. 30. A simple biography for elementary schools.
- PORTER, KENNETH W. *The cruise of the "Forester": Some new sidelights on the Astoria enterprise* (Washington historical quarterly, XXIII (4), October, 1932, pp. 261-285). An article dealing with the voyage of the *Forester* which is of interest both because of its relation to the Astoria enterprise and because of the light it throws upon the conditions under which the Pacific trade was carried on during, and shortly after, the War of 1812.
- RIDDELL, WILLIAM RENWICK. *An international complication between Illinois and Canada arising out of slavery* (Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, XXV (1 and 2), April-July, 1932, pp. 123-126). A curious instance of slavery in the Old North West in 1829.
- ROBERTS, LLOYD. *Samuel Hearne*. (Ryerson Canadian history readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1930. Pp. 27. (10 cents) A vivid little biography in the Ryerson "Stories of pathfinders".
- SEARY, V. P. *Sir Charles Tupper*. (Ryerson Canadian history readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1930. Pp. 30. (10 cents) Salient features of Tupper's life and work.
- SHAW, R. W. *The treaty made with the Indians for the surrender of lands in the Collingwood region, Oct. 17, 1818* (Ontario Historical Society, papers and records, XXVIII, 1932, pp. 146-149). An account of the signing of the treaty by which the Indians surrendered to the British crown most of the territory now included in Grey, Dufferin, and Simcoe Counties.
- SNIDER, C. H. J. *Here's what two warships were really like* (Evening telegram, Toronto, Saturday, July 30, 1932, p. 10). The original plans from which were built the schooners *Tecumseth*, *Newash*, and possibly *Chippawa*, on Street's Farm, Niagara peninsula, at the close of the War of 1812, have been discovered in the archives of the British Admiralty in Whitehall. This discovery makes possible the complete reconstruction of the recovered wrecks of these schooners at Penetang. Mr. Snider has illustrated his article with drawings of the *Tecumseth* and the *Newash*.
- TAYLOR, E. G. R. (ed.). *Francis Drake and the Pacific: Two fragments* (Pacific historical review, I (2), September, 1932, pp. 360-369). Two fragmentary documents connected with Drake's voyage of 1577-80 and the Pacific coast.
- TILLOTSON, HARRY STANTON. *The exquisite exile: The life and fortunes of Mrs. Benedict Arnold*. Boston: Lothrop, Lee and Shepard Company. 1932. Pp. 205. (\$2.00) An attempt to exonerate Mrs. Benedict Arnold from the charges of complicity in her husband's treason.

- TOMKINSON, GRACE. *Settling accounts with the Loyalists* (Dalhousie review, XII (2), July, 1932, pp. 159-168). An appraisal of the effect of Loyalist characteristics and principles on Canadian development.
- TUNEM, ALFRED. *The dispute over the San Juan Islands water boundary* (Washington historical quarterly, XXIII (3), July, 1932, pp. 196-204; (4), October, 1932, pp. 286-300). The second and concluding instalments of, and the appendix to, a Ph.D. thesis on the dispute over the San Juan boundary.
- VAN WART, HORACE HUME. *The Loyalist settlement of Adolphustown: A short history of Peter Van Alstine and his company* (Loyalist gazette, II (11), August, 1932, pp. 1-3). The story of the company of Loyalists led by Van Alstine who sailed direct from New York City to Upper Canada. With a list of Loyalists who settled in Adolphustown.
- WATSON, O. K. *Moraviantown* (Ontario Historical Society, papers and records, XXVIII, 1932, pp. 125-131). An account of the Battle of the Thames (October 5, 1813) by Joe Johnson, a white Indian, and of what happened to the Moravian village after the battle by A. S. Vogler.
- WETHERELL, J. E. *The story of the Canada Company*. (Ryerson Canadian history readers edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1930. Pp. 30. (10 cents) A chapter in the history of the settlement of Ontario.
- YOUNG, A. H. *Dr. Charles Inglis in New York, 1766-1783* (Report of the Canadian Historical Association, 1932, pp. 87-96). An account of the life in New York of an eminent Loyalist, who became first Bishop of Nova Scotia.

(4) The Dominion of Canada

- AUDET, F. J. *Les monuments commémoratifs à Ottawa* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (9), septembre 1932, pp. 543-545). A list of the monuments erected on parliamentary territory by the Canadian government.
- BOSSARD, JAMES H. S. and SELLIN, THORSTEN (eds.). *Prohibition: A national experiment*. (Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, volume 163, September, 1932.) Philadelphia: American Academy of Political Science, 3457 Walnut Street. 1932. Pp. 269. (\$2.50, cloth; \$2.00, paper) An evaluation of the effects of prohibition on American life, in the last decade in particular. The experience of other nations is presented—the chapter on "Control of the liquor traffic in Canada" (pp. 188-196) being prepared by Dr. Louis W. Moffit, of the Department of Political Economy in Wesley College, Winnipeg. The paper contains an historical sketch of Canadian efforts to control the sale of intoxicating liquors, an analysis of the methods of government control and of the results of the system, and a summary of the merits and demerits of the experiment.
- [CANADA: NATIONAL PARKS BRANCH. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.] *Some historic and prehistoric sites of Canada* (Report of the Canadian Historical Association, 1932, pp. 115-120). Report of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada.
- [CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.] *Report of the annual meeting held at Ottawa, May 24 and 25, 1932. With historical papers*. Ottawa: Department of Public Archives. 1932. Pp. 128. The papers are listed separately in this bibliography.
- CHALMERS, FLOYD S. *The rising cost of government* (MacLean's magazine, December 1, 1931, pp. 10-11, 44-46). Interesting light on governmental costs.
- FALCONBRIDGE, JOHN D. *Die Arbeiten der Konferenz für eine einheitliche kanadische Gesetzgebung* (Zeitschrift für ausländisches und internationales Privatrecht, VI (1-2), 1932, pp. 104-119). An account of the labours of the conference of commissioners on uniformity of legislation in Canada.
- FORBIN, VICTOR. *Promenades dans Ottawa* (Revue des deux mondes, (X), 15 août, 1932, pp. 880-893). An account of the Canadian capital and of a visit to a parliamentary session which the writer describes in detail.

- KENNEDY, W. P. M. *The growth of administrative law* (South African law times, I (8), August, 1932, pp. 173-175). A study of administrative law with special reference to Canada.
- LONDON, FRED. *D'Alton McCarthy and the politics of the later 'eighties* (Report of the Canadian Historical Association, 1932, pp. 43-50). An estimate of the influence of D'Alton McCarthy in the breaking up of the Conservative party which preceded the defeat of 1896.
- R. *Neighbors: A Canadian view* (Foreign affairs, X (3), April, 1932, pp. 417-430). An examination of the political aspects of Canadian-American relationship, and of certain influences which affect these relations.
- REID, ESCOTT M. *The rise of national parties in Canada* (Papers and proceedings of the fourth annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, IV, pp. 187-200). An outline of the process by which two nation-wide parties were built up in Canada after Confederation.
- [RUSSELL, BENJAMIN.] *Autobiography of Benjamin Russell*. Halifax, N.S.: The Royal Print and Litho Ltd. 1932. Pp. vi, 312. To be reviewed later.
- SCOTT, F. R. *The permanent bases of Canadian foreign policy* (Foreign affairs, X (4), July, 1932, pp. 617-631). An inspection of the various geographical, political, racial, and economic factors which are the most important and most permanent influences in determining Canada's international position.
- SNIDER, CHARLES H. J. *The Beauharnois inquiry* (reprinted from the *Evening telegram*, Toronto). Toronto: The *Evening telegram*. 1931. Pp. 52. (Free) A report and a discussion of the Beauharnois inquiry, with maps.
- TAYLOR, MONICA. *Sir Bertram Windle: Bertram Coghill Alan Windle, F.R.S., F.S.A., K.S.G., M.D., M.A., LL.D., Ph.D., Sc.D.: A memoir*. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1932. Pp. xiii, 428. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.
- UNDERHILL, F. H. *The party system in Canada* (Papers and proceedings of the fourth annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, IV, pp. 201-212). Some features of the Canadian party system and a discussion of "some aspects of those more recent post-war developments which offer a challenge to the established system".

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

- BREMNER, BENJAMIN. *Memories of long ago: Being a series of sketches pertaining to Charlottetown in the past*. Charlottetown, P.E.I.: Irwin Printing Company. 1930. Pp. 96. To be reviewed later.
- (ed. and comp.). *An island scrap book, historical and traditional: A sequel to Memories of long ago*. To which is added an appendix containing dates of important events in Prince Edward Island history. Charlottetown, P.E.I.: Irwin Printing Company. 1932. Pp. 161, vi. (\$1.50) To be reviewed later.
- Catalogue of portraits of the judges of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia and other portraits*. Halifax, N.S.: Law Courts. N.d. Pp. 111. A catalogue of Nova Scotian portraits.
- LEMAITRE, GEORGES. *Vie économique de la Nouvelle-Ecosse*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1931. Pp. 272.
- VROOM, JAMES. *The Loyalist settlements west of the River Saint John* (Loyalist gazette, II (11), August, 1932, p. 11). A brief story of the Loyalist settlement on the River Saint John in Nova Scotia.

(2) The Province of Quebec

- BARBEAU, MARIUS. *An early French settlement on the Saint Lawrence* (Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia XXX (2), April, 1932, pp. 79-87). A description of the life, handicrafts, history, and psychology of the inhabitants of the Island of Orleans.
- *Island of Orleans* (Canadian geographical journal, V (3), September, 1932, pp. 155-171). Investigations into the handicrafts, architecture and parish records of the Island of Orleans, P.Q.
- COLLINS, FREDERICK T. *The law of the Province of Quebec* (Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association, XL (1), October, 1932, pp. 47-54). An address discussing the source, history, and development of the laws of Quebec and explaining the constitutional system in virtue of which they are now made.
- KENNEDY, W. P. M. *The law of Quebec* (South African law times, I (9), September, 1932, pp. 196-197). A discussion of the private law of modern Quebec.
- LE FRANC, MARIE. *Au pays canadien-français*. Paris: Fasquelle Editeurs. 1931. Pp. 237. (12 fr.) A lyrical little guide-book to French Canada, with a number of attractive illustrations.
- Les maires de la cité de Québec* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXVIII (11), novembre, 1932, pp. 647-658). A list, with biographical notes, of the mayors of Quebec City.
- MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Recherches historiques sur les spectacles à Montréal de 1760 à 1800*. (Reprinted from Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, troisième série, 1932, XXV, pp. 113-122.) Ottawa: Imprimé pour la Société Royale du Canada. 1932. Information concerning theatres and the drama in Montreal before 1800.
- Pages trifluviennes*. Série A, no. 1. *Bribes d'histoire*. Par ARMOUR LANDRY. Trois-Rivières: Les Editions du "Bien Public". 1932. Pp. 72. This is a very interesting collection of facts, anecdotes and incidents based on documentary material and pertaining to the local history of Trois-Rivières. It is provided with a bibliography of sources and a good nominal index. (Gustave Lanctot)
- Pages trifluviennes*. Série B, no. 2. *Troisième centenaire trifluvien, 1634-1934*. Trois-Rivières: Les Editions du "Bien Public". 1932. Pp. 37. A pamphlet containing suggestions for the celebration of Trois-Rivières, tricentenary in 1934. (Gustave Lanctot)
- ST. LAURENT, L. S. *The law of Quebec* (Canadian bar review, X (7), September, 1932, pp. 442-455). The presidential address delivered at the annual meeting of the Canadian Bar Association in which Mr. St. Laurent, K.C., explains the system of private law in Quebec and why it is not the same system as that which is followed in the other Canadian provinces.
- SCHEULT, L. R. *Anticosti Island* (Canadian geographical journal, V (2), August, 1932, pp. 67-81). A pictorial and historical description of the Island of Anticosti, in the St. Lawrence.
- SHAPIRO, H. L. *The French population of Canada* (Natural history, XXXII (4), July-August, 1932, pp. 341-355). An investigation into the physical type of the French Canadian. With illustrations.
- TRAQUAIR, RAMSAY and ADAIR, E. R. *The Church of Ste. Jeanne Françoise de Chantal on the Ile Perrot, Quebec*. (McGill University publications, series XIII, art and architecture, no. 35.) (Reprinted from the Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, May, June, 1932.) Montreal: 1932. Pp. 15. A beautifully illustrated description of the history and architecture of the Church of Ste. Jeanne Françoise de Chantal, with extracts from the parish and other records.

(3) The Province of Ontario

- BRIERLEY, JAMES S. *1881 and onward; reminiscences of St. Thomas and Elgin County half a century ago.* (Reprinted from the *St. Thomas Times-journal*.) Montreal: The author. 1931. Pp. 47. Recollections of Elgin County in the nineteenth century.
- BRIGHTY, ISABEL McCOMB (comp.). *A pilgrimage through the historic Niagara district: Including a list of place names.* Publication no. 1. St. Catharines, Ontario: Published by the Lincoln Historical Society. 1932. Pp. 12. A descriptive booklet pointing out the interesting and historic places in the Niagara district.
- CARNOCHAN, JANET. *Inscriptions and graves in the Niagara peninsula.* (Niagara Historical Society, re-print of no. 19 with additions and corrections.) Niagara-on-the-Lake: Niagara Advance Print. N.d. Pp. 147. (60 cents) A corrected edition of this very valuable guide which entailed much research on the part of the late Miss Carnochan.
- COLE, ARTHUR A. *Ontario's route to the sea* (Canadian geographical journal, V (3), September, 1932, pp. 131-153). An illustrated and statistical description of northern Ontario along the line of the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway.
- COYNE, J. H. *Across Georgian Bay in 1871* (Ontario Historical Society, papers and records, XXVIII, 1932, pp. 25-29). An account of a trip made by the writer to Lake Superior from Toronto in July, 1871, as contained in letters written by him at the time for the *St. Thomas Journal*.
- CRAIK, W. A. *From prison camp to industrial town* (Industrial Canada, February, 1931, pp. 53-55). Facts about the evolution of Kapuskasing, in northern Ontario.
- CUMMINGS, J. A. *Early settlement in south Simcoe* (Ontario Historical Society, papers and records, XXVIII, 1932, pp. 114-119). A study of settlement and early settlers in West Gwillimbury and Tecumseth townships.
- DAVIES, BLOWDEN. *The charm of Ottawa.* With illustrations from etchings of BARBARA STEPHENS. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1932. Pp. 250. (\$2.50) To be reviewed later.
- FRASER, ALEXANDER. *Twentieth report of the Department of Public Records and Archives of Ontario, 1931.* Toronto: Herbert H. Ball, King's Printer. 1932. Pp. 222. To be reviewed later.
- HENDERSON, ELMES. *Some notes on a visit to Penetanguishene and the Georgian Bay in 1856* (Ontario Historical Society, papers and records, XXVIII, 1932, pp. 30-34). Reminiscences of people and places of 1856 in the Georgian Bay district.
- HENDERSON, JOHN. *Ontario: The story of a great province of Canada.* Written by JOHN HENDERSON, assisted by FRANK FAIRBROTHER, with an introduction by the Hon. G. HOWARD FERGUSON. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1931. Pp. x, 213. To be reviewed later.
- History of St. George's Parish, Guelph, Ontario, 1832-1932.* [Guelph, Ontario: Printed and bound by the Gummer Press. 1932.] Pp. ii, 92. Reviewed on page 449.
- L'hydro-electric commission de l'Ontario* (L'actualité économique, December, 1931, pp. 376-379). Information concerning Ontario's Hydro-electric Commission.
- LAURISTON, VICTOR. *A century of Goderich* (Canadian geographical journal, V (2), August, 1932, pp. 83-96). A descriptive and historical account of the town of Goderich with many illustrations.
- MCCANNEL, Captain JAMES. *Shipping out of Collingwood* (Ontario Historical Society, papers and records, XXVIII, 1932, pp. 16-23). A chapter in the history of shipping on the Great Lakes in the last century.

- MARSH, E. L. *A history of the County of Grey*. Published by authority of the Grey County Council. Owen Sound, Ontario: Fleming Publishing Company Limited. 1931. Pp. [vii], 487. To be reviewed later.
- MONTGOMERY, PAUL. *Reclaiming a lost empire* (Canadian magazine, September, 1931, pp. 17, 36). The writer points out that the extension of the Ontario government railway to Moose Factory will provide a base for exploration to the east and west of Hudson Bay.
- MOORHEAD, A. M. *Ottawa, city of hope* (Empire review, no. 379, August, 1932, pp. 65-66). A very brief bird's-eye view of the city.
- [NORFOLK CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, THE NORFOLK COUNTY COUNCIL, AND THE SIMCOE TOWN COUNCIL (comps.)] *Norfolk County, an illustrated review of the historical, agricultural, and industrial background of this rich county, and an outline of its unique and diversified attractions*. Simcoe, Ontario: The Compilers. 1931. Pp. 32. (20 cents) An illustrated handbook. Contains maps.
- [ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.] *Papers and records*, vol. XXVIII. Toronto: Published by the Society. 1932. Pp. 339. (\$2.00) Contains papers on the history of Ontario which are noted separately in this bibliography.
- Order of divine service, Sunday, 17th July, 1932, at the celebration of the centenary of the settlement of the pioneers in this region, 1832-1932*. Orillia, Ontario. 1932. Pp. [8]. Includes a short sketch of the history of Orillia Presbyterian Church by the Rev. J. A. MacINNIS.
- PATERSON, GILBERT. *The professional settler in Upper Canada* (Ontario Historical Society, papers and records, XXVIII, 1932, pp. 120-124). A study of some professional attempts at settlement in Upper Canada by William Willcocks, the Count de Puisaye, Thomas Talbot, the McNabs, Lord Selkirk, and others.
- RIDDELL, WILLIAM RENWICK. *Toronto in cartography* (Ontario Historical Society, papers and records, XXVIII, 1932, pp. 143-145). A note on maps and place names.
- WIGLE, HAMILTON. *History of the Wigle (Weigle) family and their descendants*. Privately printed. Copies procurable from J. S. Wigle, Ruthven, Ontario, or E. J. Wigle, Kingsville, Ontario. Pp. 248. A complete genealogy of the descendants of John Vendel Weigle, United Empire Loyalist, who migrated to Essex County, Ontario.
- YOUNG, A. H. *Ottawa a hundred years ago* (Ontario Historical Society, papers and records, XXVIII, 1932, pp. 35-40). Impressions of Ottawa between the years 1828 and 1834 as recorded by the Rt. Revd. the Hon. Charles James Stewart, second bishop of Quebec.
- (4) The Western Provinces**
- BROOK, LESLIE. *They were tent towns fifty years ago* (Canadian National Railways magazine, XVIII (10), October, 1932, pp. 8-9, 26). A description of the beginnings and development of Saskatoon and Regina.
- HICKS, D. V. *HBC and Edmonton* (Beaver, no. 2, September, 1932, pp. 67-68). A brief note on the history of Edmonton.
- KENNEDY, E. R. *Saskatchewan: Its manufacturing possibilities and accomplishments* (Industrial Canada, April, 1931, pp. 65-69). An estimate of the industrial possibilities of Saskatchewan.
- PENDLETON, GEORGE. *Hudson's Bay Company posts: Mackenzie River-Athabasca districts: No. 5—Fort Vermilion* (Beaver, no. 2, September, 1932, pp. 104-105). A note on the history of a village on the south bank of the Peace River.
- STUTCHBURY, HOWARD. *Alberta: The province endowed with a great diversity of resources* (Industrial Canada, May, 1931, pp. 79-80). Facts about Alberta's natural and industrial resources.

WATSON, ROBERT. *Dreams of Fort Garry*. Winnipeg: Stovel Company Limited. 1931. Pp. 63. (\$10.00) A poem which depicts the lives and times of the early settlers of western Canada. The volume is beautifully printed and it is illustrated with wood cuts by Walter J. Phillips, A.R.C.A.

WHITELEY, A. S. *The peopling of the Prairie Provinces of Canada*. (Reprinted for private circulation from the American journal of sociology, XXXVIII (2), September, 1932, pp. 240-252.) The presentation of some quantitative notes on the growth of population in the Prairie Provinces in the period from 1886-1926. The paper is illustrated with charts and statistical tables.

YOUNG, D. H. *Manitoba as an industrial province* (Industrial Canada, March, 1931, pp. 65-67). A note on Manitoba's industrial possibilities and achievements.

ZADO, HELEN. *The western Mennonites* (MacLean's magazine, June 15, 1931, pp. 23, 32, 61). Interesting sidelights on the Mennonites in western Canada.

(5) British Columbia and the North-west Coast

ANGUS, H. F. *The Kidd report in British Columbia* (Canadian forum, XIII (146), November, 1932, pp. 47-49). A review of the report of the committee which has completed its survey of the financial situation of the province and of the drastic economies which it recommends.

BARRY, J. NEILSON. *Oregon boundaries* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXIII (3), September, 1932, pp. 259-267). A summary, illustrated by maps on which modern state boundaries, etc., are listed, of the areas included at various times in the term Oregon.

British Columbia's historical background (Industrial Canada, March, 1931, pp. 46-49). A brief outline of British Columbian history as a background for industry.

GRAY, PRENTISS N. *A new low pass of the Rockies* (Geographical journal, LXXX (2), August, 1932, pp. 145-150). A survey of the country on the slopes of the continental divide north of Mount Sir Alexander.

HAMILTON, J. H. *The achievement of a decade* (Industrial Canada, March, 1931, pp. 52-55). An account of the port and shipping of Vancouver.

KINGSTON, C. S. *Buffalo in the Pacific Northwest* (Washington historical quarterly, XXIII (3), July, 1932, pp. 163-172). An investigation concerning the distribution and the annihilation of the buffalo in the Pacific Northwest.

LUGRIN, N. DE B. *At the corner of Granville and Hastings* (MacLean's magazine, October 1, 1931, pp. 22, 35-36). Notes on the early history of Vancouver.

Trail, B.C., *a brief story of the history and development of the most important industrial center in interior of British Columbia*. Trail, B.C.: The Board of Trade. 1931. Pp. 52. (Free) A résumé of the growth, history, and industrial development of Trail in British Columbia.

(6) North-west Territories, and the Arctic Regions

[CANADA. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR. NORTH WEST TERRITORIES AND YUKON BRANCH.] *Canada's western Arctic, report on investigations in 1925-26, 1928-29, and 1930*; Major L. T. Burwash, investigator. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1931. Pp. 116. (50 cents) A report on the western Canadian Arctic illustrated by maps.

CUNNINGHAM, B. *Development of the Hudson Bay region and the North-West Territories of Canada* (Nature, July, 1931, pp. 53-56). Notes on the development of the Canadian north.

KEMP, V. A. N. *The western Arctic from a police viewpoint* (Canadian defence quarterly, X (1), October, 1932, pp. 93-101). An outline of the life and duties of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in the Arctic regions.

MACINNES, TOM. (ed.). *Klengenberg of the Arctic: An autobiography*. London: Jonathan Cape. 1932. Pp. 360. (10s. 6d.) To be reviewed later.

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

(1) General

CAMPBELL, A. C. *Conserve Canada's heritage!* (Canadian unionist, VI (2), July, 1932, pp. 21-23). Arguments for the possession by the crown of all natural resources.

[CANADIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.] *Papers and proceedings of the fourth annual meeting*. Vol. IV. Toronto, May, 1932. Kingston, Ontario: The Jackson Press. 1932. Pp. 268. The papers included in this volume are listed separately in this bibliography.

CASSIDY, H. M. *Relief works as a remedy for unemployment in the light of Ontario experience, 1930-32* (Papers and proceedings of the fourth annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, IV, Toronto, 1932, pp. 21-33). A brief analysis of Ontario's experience in the relief of unemployment in the last two years.

Unemployment and relief in Ontario, 1920-1932: A survey and report. Under the auspices of the Unemployment Research Committee of Ontario. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons, Limited. 1932. Pp. 290, xiii. To be reviewed later.

CASSIDY, H. M., HEAKES, A. G. and JACKSON, G. E. *The extent of unemployment in Canada, 1929-32* (Papers and proceedings of the fourth annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, IV, pp. 5-20). A quantitative estimate of unemployment in Canada during the past three years, with statistical tables.

Combines and public policy (Papers and proceedings of the fourth annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, IV, pp. 168-174). A round table discussion of combines and legislation relating thereto in Canada by Messrs. V. W. Bladen, J. Finkelman, and L. M. Singer.

Co-operative banking in Quebec (Canadian unionist, VI (3), August, 1932, pp. 53-4). An account of the creation and growth of credit unions or co-operative people's banks in the Province of Quebec.

DAVIES, BLODWEN. *The story of hydro, white thunder*. (Ryerson Canadian history readers, edited by LORNE PIERCE.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1931. Pp. 26. (10 cents) The whole story of hydro-electric power in Canada told simply and briefly for children.

DRAPER, H. L. *The Alberta coal problem*. (McGill University economic studies, no. 15, *National problems of Canada*.) Orillia, Ontario: Packet-Times Press. Pp. 65, viii. (75 cents) This is an account of the domestic supply and consumption of coal in Canada, with special reference to the eastward extension of the Alberta market. It deals particularly with the expense and difficulties of transport, and concludes that, east of Winnipeg, little can be done against British and United States competition.

The book is based on statistics up to 1927, and appears to have been written in the beginning of 1929 and published in October, 1930. This being so, provision might have been made for more careful proofreading. (C.A.A.)

HEENAN, HON. PETER. *Unemployment insurance—and how* (Canadian unionist, VI (2), July, 1932, pp. 31-33). A scheme for unemployment insurance as it could be established and operated in Canada.

JOHANN, A. E. *Amerika: Untergang an Ueberfluss*. Berlin: Ullstein. 1932. Pp. 256. (M 5.50) To be reviewed later.

LOGAN, H. A. *Unemployment insurance in Canada* (Papers and proceedings of the fourth annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, IV, pp. 34-56). A statement of the situation in Canada with regard to unemployment insurance, as it is to-day, and a discussion of the pros and cons of unemployment insurance in general.

- McKAY, COLIN. *Economic planning* (Canadian unionist, VI (3), August, 1932, pp. 45-6). The case presented for a planned economy in Canada.
- MOORE, WILLIAM H. *Economic relations of the United States and Canada with special reference to tariffs*. (Reprinted for private circulation from the Proceedings of the Institute of Public Affairs, 5th annual session, Athens, Georgia, June, 1931, pp. 55-79.) Two lectures which deal critically with modern fiscal phases of Canadian-American economic relations.
- PATTON, HARALD S. *Some aspects of public ownership of electric utilities in Canada*. (Reprinted from papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters, XIV, 1930, pp. 221-244.) A comment on certain distinctive and constructive features of public ownership and operation of hydro-electric utilities in Ontario.
- PLUMPTRE, A. E. W. *Currency management in Canada* (Papers and proceedings of the fourth annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, IV, pp. 139-150). An examination of the problems of currency management and the terms in which it must necessarily be considered in Canada.
- [PROVINCE OF ONTARIO: DEPARTMENT OF MINES.] *Twenty-five years of Ontario's mining history: A review of outstanding developments in the last quarter of a century* (bulletin no. 83). Toronto: Herbert H. Ball, King's Printer. 1932. Pp. 55. A statistical survey of the mining industry in Ontario.
- SANDWELL, B. K. *Falling prices and borrowing countries* (Dalhousie review, XII (2), July, 1932, pp. 211-217). "The purpose of this article is to suggest that some slight revision of the mentality developed during the three decades of rising prices is highly desirable, and that that revision must be very largely concerned with the relation between debtor and creditor." The article is written with special reference to Canada.

(2) Agriculture

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- Canada: II. The broadcasting problem* (Round table, no. 88, September, 1932, pp. 862-870). A review of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting, of the report of the Parliamentary Special Committee, and of the resulting new legislation with regard to broadcasting in Canada.
- [CANADA. DEPARTMENT OF MARINE.] *Navigation conditions in Hudson Bay and Strait during season of navigation, 1930*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1931. Pp. 73. (25 cents) A booklet of interest in relation to the new Hudson Bay route.
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- GIVENS, W. R. *Costing Canada a million a week* (Canadian magazine, September, 1932, pp. 3, 22-23). An outspoken comment on the mounting costs of the Canadian National Railways.
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- LOVE, JOHN. *1832—the Canadian railway centenary—1932* (Bulletin of the Railway and Locomotive History Society, no. 28, May, 1932, pp. 7-12). A brief account of the Champlain and St. Lawrence Railway.
- . *History of the Canadian railroads* (Bulletin of the Railway and Locomotive History Society, no. 28, May, 1932, pp. 42-46). A list of important events in the history of Canadian railroads from 1816 to 1860.
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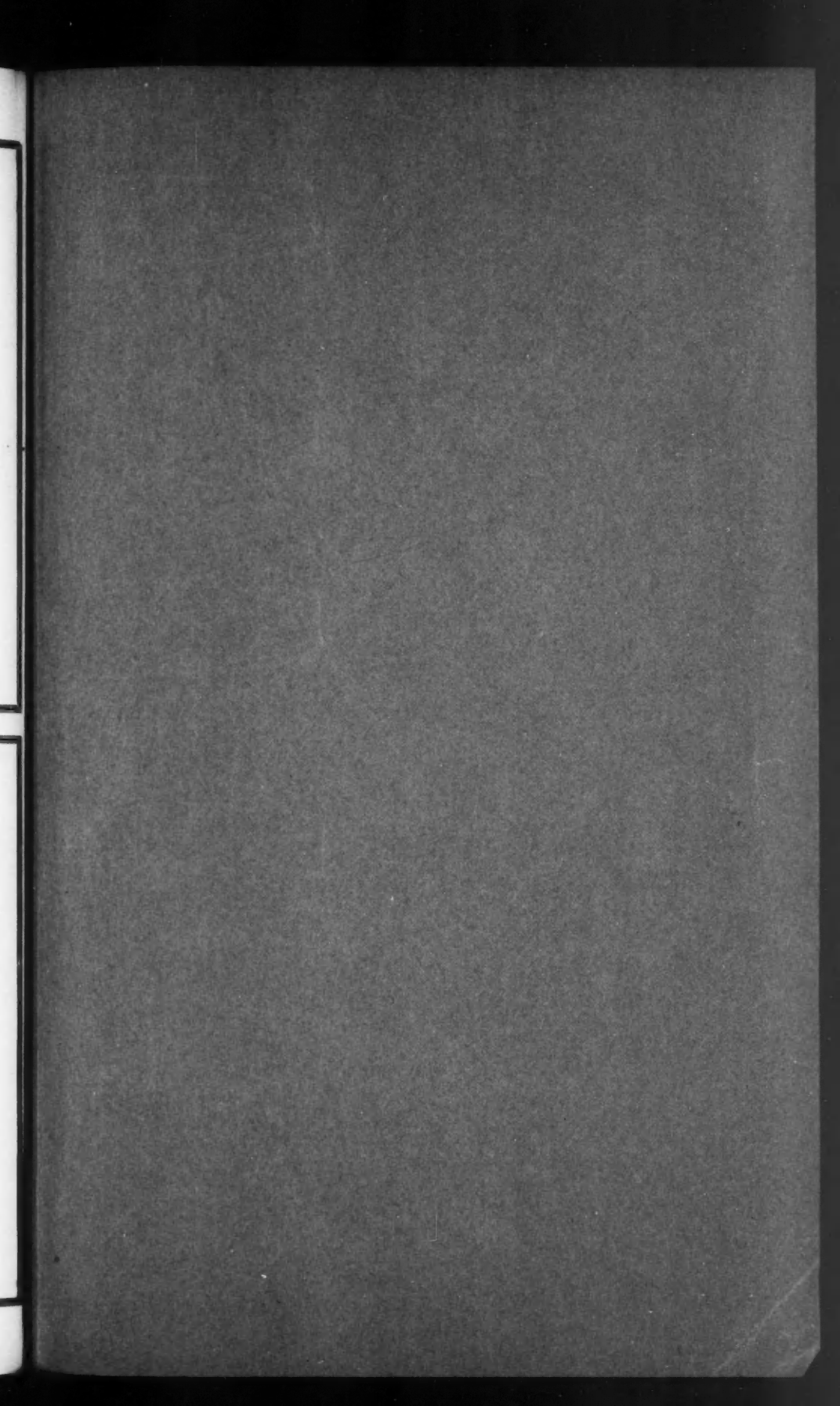
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